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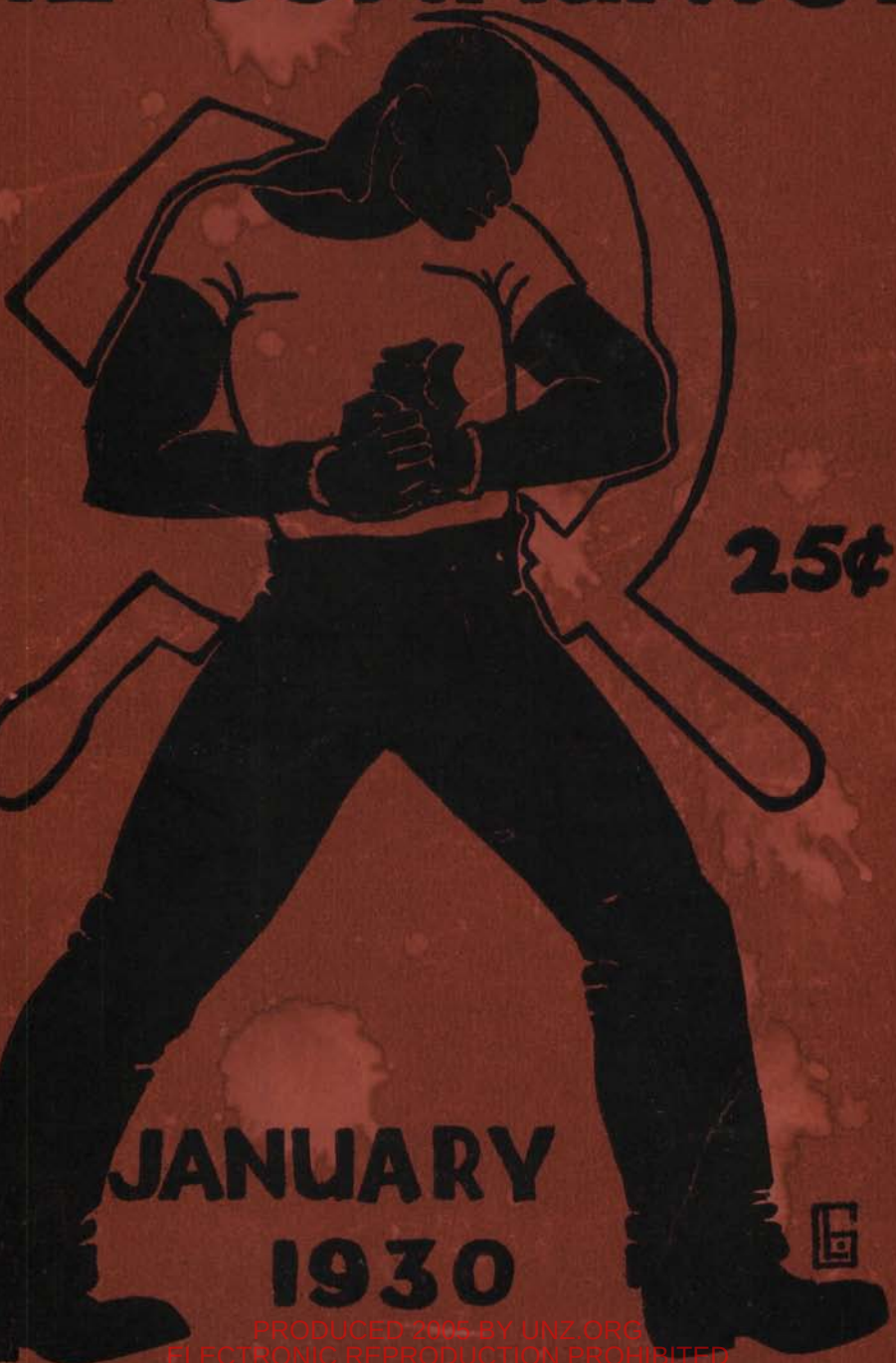

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THE COMMUNIST

A Magazine of the Theory and Practise of Marxism-Leninism

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MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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Lenin—at one of the sessions of the Third World Congress of the Comintern

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Notes of the Month

THE economic crisis has deepened and spread with a speed never before witnessed. The conditions of the financial system are described as "close to paralysis" (Magazine of Wall Street, December 28). New securities placed upon the market in November were less than 20 per cent of the volume for September. Automobile production dropped 34 points, from an index of 115.5 to 81.8; steel ingot production fell from 104.5 to 89.1; cotton consumption from 108.7 to 93.8; car loadings declined by more than 10 per cent, building by 12½ per cent. The combined index of production and business activity, compiled by the *Annalist*, shows a decline of 8.1 points below October. This is the sharpest decline that has ever occurred in the post-war period.

Pronounced decreases in factory employment and payrolls are registered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which acknowledges new additions of hundreds of thousands to the army or unemployed during the month of November.

December witnessed a continuation of this process. The year 1930 begins under the sign of the sharpest economic crisis.

* * *

ALL pacifist illusions about a possible softening of the international antagonisms are being exposed more clearly than ever by the developing economic crisis, which is reaching out to embrace all capitalist countries. Britain has been in a permanent economic crisis for years. Now the "rosy-cheeked young capitalism" of the United States is suffering from internal convulsions. The giants of imperialism, as well as the lesser powers, all suffer from the same disease—the inability to find markets commensurate with the forces of production.

In the United States the beginnings of this crisis are being met by the most extraordinary measures. In sharp contrast with the official optimism of Hoover & Co., echoed by all the lesser fry down to the renegade Lovestone, these measures by their very nature testify to the seriousness of the crisis. Such a mobilization of capitalist forces has never been seen before, except as measures of *war*. And it is in this sense that they must be understood. They are war measures—preparations for a new offensive against the working class and subject peoples, as well as against the Soviet Union, and preparations for the test of power between the imperialists.

Such is the significance of the National Fascist Council set up by Hoover, a super-government of the big capitalists, with all their

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agents among the mass organizations of workers and farmers. It was not for nothing that prominent Wall Street spokesmen told Congress that it should pack up and go home. The invitation was a forecast of what history has in store for that institution in the not distant future.

* * *

MOST significant of the depth of this process, is the participation in it of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party. Both have become integral factors in the process of fascisation in the United States. The union of the government apparatus with finance capital also brings in a third partner, the trade union officialdom and the leaders of the Socialist Party wherever the latter has sufficient forces still to enter into the service required of it. This unholy "triple alliance" follows in the United States essentially the same lines made familiar in Europe.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., participated in the Hoover conferences, and brought forth from it the declaration that:

> "No movement should be initiated for increase of wages and every cooperation should be given by labor to industry in the handling of its problems."

In the garment industry of New York, we have this triple alliance functioning openly, with Green, Schlesinger, and Hillquit (A. F. of L. and Socialist Party) openly collaborating with the employers and the N. Y. State Government (Governor Roosevelt and Vice-Governor Lehmann), in preparation of the fake "strike" which is designed to destroy the left-wing garment workers' union.

In the New York elections, the bourgeoisie openly took over the Socialist Party and its candidate, Norman Thomas, built them up, and proclaimed them "respectable" and recognized agencies of the capitalist dictatorship.

As in industry, so also in these historical processes, capitalism in the United States gives the world new examples of the "speed-up system."

* * *

THE Stimson Note to the Soviet Union on December 2, was the first active use of the Kellogg Pact for those purposes which its originators intended; it was a mobilization of world forces against the Soviet Union; it was an attempt of the U. S. to take the lead away from Great Britain in world politics; and it was specifically one move in the chess game of imperialist rivalry in the Far East.

Soviet arms and diplomacy, based upon the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and a policy of peace, secured a brilliant victory. Let there be no illusions, however, that the campaign on this front is

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over. This was only one battle in the campaign. Not only will it be necessary for the Red Army to be vigilant on the borders of Manchuria, but also, and above all, it is necessary for the workers of the imperialist lands to mobilize their forces for more effective intervention against the next hostile move of imperialism against the Soviet Union.

* * *

U. S. intervention in China to save its puppet, Chiang Kai-shek, from the rival militarist bloc directed by the Anglo-Japanese imperialists, took the form of supplies of aeroplanes and bombs. With the help of these and "silver bullets" (wholesale bribing of rebellious generals), Chiang Kai-shek postponed the date of his inevitable departure. U. S. imperialism, on the offensive against Great Britain all over the world, has received a setback in China, which it has only partially remedied by its latest emergency measures. It must find a stronger instrument for its policies than Chiang-Kai-shek.

China presents an excellent example of the simultaneous development of the main world antagonisms into actual war—both the war of imperialism against the Soviet Union and revolutionary movement generally, and the war among the imperialists themselves. It is entirely wrong to think that the development of one of these requires the "postponement" of the other; both are developing concurrently. The Chinese militarists are the instruments of the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union and at the same moment they conduct armed struggle among themselves, representing the interest of their rival imperialist masters.

* * *

"THE general crisis of the world capitalist system finds most striking expression at the present time in colonial and semi-colonial rebellions and revolutions." This estimate of the Sixth World Congress is emphasized by the events of the day in India, the "pearl" of the British Imperialism crown, and in Haiti, outpost of the Latin-American resistance to U. S. Imperialism.

By its "clever" trickery, the MacDonald government thought it had side-tracked the rising mass movement of Indian toilers. Accepting in words the surrender of the Indian bourgeoisie (its offer to accept Dominion status), it then tried to pay the thirty pieces of silver due to the traitors as the price of treason in counterfeit coin, by pledging itself to introduce no changes whatever in British imperial policy towards India. The masses, already deserting the bourgeois leadership of the independence, are receiving a political education which helps immeasurably in the mobilization of the forces of revolution gathering in India.

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The "Labor" government's vicious and violent assaults against the trade unions of India (Meerut trial of 33 leaders for "sedition") are completing the dissillusionment of the masses, who are demanding an uncompromisig struggle for immediate and unconditional independence of India under a workers' and peasants' government. The present sessions of the India National Congress will mark the last hysterical efforts of the bourgeoisie to retain their holds upon the masses, and at the same time demonstrate again their willingness to be purchased by British imperialism. Haitian workers and peasants have again delivered sharp blows against U. S. armed occupation, paying the usual price of dead and wounded. The latest demonstrations reflect a deep and growing mass hatred of Latin-American toilers generally, and readiness to struggle to overthrow the odious rule of Wall Street banks and gunboats. The demonstrations organized in New York and Washington by the Communist Party had profound effects in Latin-American countries, and in Haiti especially, in encouraging and stimulating their resistance to imperialist oppression. At the same time these demonstrations, with their mass character and their militant struggle with the police sent to break them up, witnessed the deepening bolshevik unity and political maturity of the C.P.U.S.A. The workers and peasants of Latin-America, in alliance with the revolutionary workers of the United States, are mobilizing for serious struggle against American imperialism.

* * *

MEANWHILE the imperialist powers gather in London for the five-power naval conference. Heralded by the press as a conference for "naval disarmament", it is not even a "limitation" conference, except in the limited sense of establishing a certain ratio of naval expansion for each power. The basis of the conference is the Hoover-MacDonald agreement, which is described by the London *Economist* as "hardly more than a concerted programme of naval construction within limits which possibly represent that minimum which is acceptable in either country to the advocates of a big navy."

Whatever the outcome of the conference, whether there is an apparent "agreement" or whether it breaks up as the last one did, it actually represents another stage in the preparation of a new world war. This fact is even acknowledged at times by certain bourgeois spokesmen, as when Senator Borah, commenting upon the MacDonald Governments' declaration that "there can be no neutral rights because there can be no neutrals," used the following significant words:

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"Under these circumstances the pact is misnamed. It is *not* a peace pact; *it is a war pact.*"

The statement that "there can be no neutrals" in the next war has a reality far deeper than that given it by the legalist aspects of pacts and League of Nations. It is a fact resulting from the deep-going nature of the world crisis of capitalism, from the incorporation of every capitalist country in the contradictions of this crisis, the dependence of the small countries upon one or other of the great powers. The coming war will be a world war much more completely than that of 1914-1918; from its inception it will involve Asia, Africa, and Latin-America, as well as Europe and the United States. Participation in the war will for all parts of the world mean participation in the grim realities of destruction, from its very beginning on a larger scale than that reached in the last war after four years developed. And it will mean participation of entire populations, not merely of armies.

* * *

IN sharp contrast with the downward trend of production in the capitalist countries, the Soviet Union is driving ahead full speed in the socialist industrialization of one-sixth of the globe. According to the experience of the first year's work under the famous Five-Year Plan, this "plan of great works" which was looked upon even by the right-wing communists as impossible of achievement, is not only successful, but will be accomplished in four years instead of five.

In sharp contrast with the crisis in agriculture, which deepens in the capitalist countries, in the Soviet Union agriculture is making a tremendous leap forward to socialization, to collective and Soviet farming with large-scale machine methods. With more than a million farms already incorporated into the socialist system, agriculture as a whole, expands this year by five per cent in the Soviet Union.

In sharp contrast with the deepening exploitation, speed-up, wage-cuts and unemployment in the United States and other capitalist countries, in the Soviet Union wages again increased this year, and will be doubled over 1913 in three years more; technical advance of industry is accompanied by the introduction of the seven-hour day, which will be completely established for all workers in another three years; while unemployment is being wiped out by the revolutionary continuous working year.

These tremendous, world-shaking developments of Soviet economy which inspire the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world to renewed struggle against imperialism, deliver a smashing

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blow at the rotting stabilization of capitalism. This is the reason for the intensifying rage of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. At the same time, this is the reason for the rallying of new millions of toilers under the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union, fatherland of all the oppressed."

* * *

AGAINST the capitalist attack of speed-up, wage-cuts, and fascization, the working class in the United States is beginning to struggle. The hitherto small and isolated strikes of a defensive nature, are growing larger and passing over to the offensive. The outstanding illustration of this fact is the strike of the Illinois miners under the leadership of the National Miners Union, section of the Trade Union Unity League. With their ranks only in the first stages of reorganization in the new union, with almost half the miners in the state driven out of the mines by the new speed-up machinery, with the old United Mine Workers openly working hand-in-hand with the bosses, both Lewis and Fishwick factions with their appendix, the Musteites, with military and gunmen mobilized against them—the Illinois miners have swung into action, engaging in heroic and effective struggle. Their fight is the fight of the entire working class, and must receive the full support of every conscious worker. It is the first clear answer of the workers to the Hoover-Green-Wall Street program of enslavement, speed-up, and war preparations.

* * *

ANOTHER outstanding signpost pointing the new path of class struggle and class-organization for the American workers, was the Second National Convention of the National Textile Workers Union, held in Paterson, N. J., December 21 and 22. A gathering of 206 delegates from the textile mills of North and South, it was a smashing answer to those who say that American workers are not ripe for revolutionary unions. Never in its palmiest days did the A. F. of L. have such a gathering of real workers' delegates from the textile mills. And this was the result of one short year of struggle. In that period the N.T.W.U. has not only been through the fire of battle in strikes, it has met the fascist terror of the Southern bourgeoisie, and has furnished its quota of victims of capitalist "justice" in the courts of Gastonia and Charlotte. During the same period the Union had a crisis of leadership, caused by the weakening and desertion at post of duty by former-secretary Weisbord, and his successor, Keller. The delegates from the mills, the overwhelming majority of them non-party, gave the lie to the renegade slanderers who proclaimed that the Communist Party had "victimized" these weak-kneed leaders for reasons of an

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"inner-party" nature, and rejected them and their policies with a wholesome proletarian contempt. The Southern delegates took the lead in the plea for inter-racial solidarity of white and Negro workers; the Convention in this respect was, however, woefully weak on the practical side, in that only one Negro delegate was present. The presence of all seven Gastonia defendants, under prison sentences up to 20 years each, each one militantly fighting for the Union and its policy, in full agreement with the unanimous body of delegates and with the Communist Party, was an additional evidence of the unquenchable vigor of the new movement taking hold in the American workingclass. The Trade Union Unity League has made another big step forward in its tasks.

* * *

THERE are from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 unemployed workers in the United States today. The number is growing. This army, one of the signs of the crisis of capitalism, is at the same time one of the weapons used by the bosses against the employed workers. The employers count upon it as a reserve force, to break strikes, to drive down wages, to crush all resistance of the working class. The Communist Party puts forth a program of organization and struggle against unemployment which will, when carried out on a mass scale, transform this army into an army against capitalism. The first step in this campaign is the distribution of 50,000 pamphlets, and a quarter-million leaflets, to bring the program to the masses.

* * *

THE ability of the working class to fight against the offensive of capitalism, will be determined by the strength and revolutionary character of its vanguard, the Communist Party. That the workers are being mobilized for struggle is the result of the strengthening of the Communist Party, of its cleansing from opportunist elements, of the correction of its line with the help of the Communist International, of its new life and energies resulting from the application of the line of the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum.

There is no longer any hesitation or wavering in the main proletarian ranks of the Communist Party. The entire Party has seen the renegades, Lovestoneites and Cannonites, pass over into the ranks of the bitterest enemies of the international Communist movement. It has seen them solidarize themselves with the renegades of all other countries, many of whom have open and shameless connections with the bourgeois governments and with the Second International. The Party and its surrounding circle of sympathizing workers has drawn the necessary conclusions, and

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thrown out of its ranks, out of the ranke of the working class organizations, these treacherous elements who carry out the work of the class enemy.

We are now entering a new period. It will not be a peaceful one. Our struggle against the renegades was only to clear the way for greater struggles against the strongly-entrenched trade union bureaucracy, against the employers, and against the capitalist system. These struggles will not wait for those who are tired, for the faint-hearted ones. The working class is moving. The Party must be in the lead, showing the way, organizing the battles. Iron discipline and ten-fold activity and sacrifice are required to bring our correct policies into life in the moving millions of the American working class.

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Leninism and Our Party

By MAX BEDACHT

THE influence of Leninism upon the revolutionary movement of the American proletariat is a most classical illustration of the essence of Leninism. Even a short consideration of this influence will dispel all pretentions of social democracy that Leninism is the child of the economic backwardness of the highly developed and advanced imperialist countries.

Capitalism in the United States developed under extremely favorable conditions. Its vast and untouched natural resources, its practical freedom from the fetters of any old social forms and modes of production, its vast internal market, etc., supplied American capitalism with advantages not enjoyed by capitalism in the older European countries. These advantages reflected themselves among other things in a comparatively higher wage and living standard of the American worker. The American aristocracy of labor, the skilled workers in the United States, enjoyed living standards that made them the aristocracy of labor of the whole world. This favorable position was augmented by the rapid expension of capitalism for which the native labor market could not possibly satisfy the demand.

In this atmosphere the theory of proletarian revolution did not derive much nourishment from native social soil. It is true that the exceptional position of the American proletarian was a fiction. Its higher living standards were bought and paid for by more intense exploitation, by greater exertion on the part of the workers. The political privileges of the American working class likewise were a fiction. But these fictions created and nourished anti-working class illusions on the part of the American workers. The development of the eternal news-boy and the ever-recurring boot-black to millionaires led the American worker to the conclusion that his proletarian existence is not the result of social conditions but of individual qualities. According to this illusion the reason why not every worker ascends the heights of the billionaire existence of a Rockefeller or a Ford is not the class division in society and the economic structures of society, but the lack of intelligence or lack of ability on the part of the workers. Transfered from the economic to the political field the same illusion produced the same contorted reflex concerning the climbing of the ladder to political fame and position.

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How utterly illusionary these conceptions were was proven by the very history of the American working class. The American working class has a history replete with struggles. The militancy displayed by the American workers in these struggles has left a long line of glorious marks in this history. But in spite of these experiences no native revolutionary theory developed. Spontaneity remained the only source of action. There was no generalization of the experiences of these struggles; there was consequently no physical co-ordination of these struggles in form of political class action on the part of these workers nor was there any idealogical co-ordination of them in the form of clarifying class conceptions and developing class consciousness.

Marxism once introduced into America became more of a philosophical "school" than the science of a proletarian revolutionary movement. Under these conditions the socialist movement could, more than in any other country, become an attraction for fundamentally pro-bourgeoisie elements. These elements either soothed their outraged feeling of "humanity" at the sight of "cruel" exploitation by pseudo Marxian philosophical speculation, or they adapted their pseudo Marxian theories to the needs of the numerous petty-bourgeoisie which was unpleasantly pressed to the wall by the rapid capitalist concentration. In other words they reformed Marxism to fit the grievances of the petty shopkeeper.

The outbreak of the World War and the collapse of the Second International therefore did not find in America even a clear Marxian minority. It was class instinct more than class consciousness that guided the action of the revolutionary left-wing in America. It was phrase and formula rather than Marxian contents. The prevailing Marxian theory was more of an abstraction than a guide to action. For this reason the left wing remained rather a "school" than it was of a movement. This does not in the least belittle the role and the service of the leaders of this left wing to the American revolutionary movement. But in spite of their revolutionary ardor and energy, in spite of their devoted struggle against the social reformists they could never succeed in building a real political party of the proletariat for revolutionary leadership **without Lenin.**

Lenin was, so to speak, a fulfillment of Marxism by his very existence. The period of the proletarian revolution produced Lenin as he produced the proletarian Party of revolution. The epoch of the decay of capitalism produced the leadership and theoretical guide for the revolutinoary working class.

"Leninism" says Stalin in his 'Foundation of Leninism', "is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revo-

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lution. To be more precise: Leninism is the theory and the tactic of the proletarian revolution in general and the theory and the tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."

Leninism as the Marxism in the epoch of the proletarian revolution had a special significance and importance for the American Party. The partly reformist and partly abstract conceptions of the science of Marxism which heretofore completely dominated the revolutionary movement in the United States had poisoned this movement with the illusions of American exceptionalism and of capitalist democracy. The American Socialist Party was built not as a party of revolutionary action and leadership, but as just another political party. Its life was adapted to the political machinery and forms supplied by the bourgeois state and not to the forms and revolutionary needs of the life and the struggles of the working class. This was in contradiction to Marxism. But a lack of clear understanding of Marxism and a consequent lack of ability to apply the forms of a Marxian party and its activities to the needs of the present epoch of capitalism were responsible for this fundamental shortcoming. Here Lenin's teachings of the character of imperialism as the epoch of the decay of capitalism supplied the guide to a revolutionary change in the conceptions of a revolutionary party in America. Lenin's efforts to cleanse the Marxian teachings of the state from the reformist adulterations and dilutions and from fraudulent formulas clarified the purposes of a proletarian revolutionary party in eyes of the American Marxists and revolutionists. The conceptions of yesterday of a mere political party were shaped by Leninism into the only correct conception of an organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution. Abstract formulas could not stand the acid test of a Leninist analysis. They had to make room for a consideration of the concrete factors of the class struggle. Speculation had to make way for realism. This realism spelled death to all tendencies of American exceptionalism. This realism showed the concrete and particular factors and relations of forces of the class struggle in the United States; but it showed them in the light of capitalism as a world institution; it showed them in the light of the general decay of this world institution; it showed them in the light of the general tasks of the proletarian world revolution into which the specific activities and tasks of the American Party of the proletarian revolution had to be fitted. Leninism helped the American communists to discover America as a battlefield of revolutionary political struggles and to discover it as an integral part of the capitalist world.

All of the Leninist theories and teachings, as for instance, the relationship of the revolutionary proletariat to the poor farmers,

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the nationalist and colonial problems, etc., helped to sharpen the analitical powers of Marxism of this epoch and supplied additional arms.

Aside from the influence which the Leninist theories of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution had upon our American party the organizational principles of Leninism made an end to the disastrous metaphysical conceptions which prevailed in the revolutionary movement of the United States on organizational questions. The impossibility of a separation of organizational forms from political purposes was driven home by the Leninist principles of bolshevist organization. This also contributed to the killing of some American illusion and to the freeing of the American party from a slavish adaptation to the forms prescribed and provided for by the political machinery of the capitalist state. Even though our American party is yet far from a complete bolshevization, yet Leninism has forced our movement out of the rut of the past onto the road of bolshevization. Even where our party has erred and deviated the Leninist principles have been rooted deep and securely enough to have assured the return of the party to the right track the very moment when the international Leninist leadership, the Communist International, exercised its corrective guidance.

Leninism supplied the foundation upon which the revolutionary advance guard of the American proletariat has built its party. Leninism is the guide which directs and corrects the activities of the advance guard of the revolutionary proletariat of the United States. Leninism has steeled the revolutionary determination of the advance guard of the American proletariat and has clarified its conceptions. And when today the latest renegades of the revolutionary movement in America, when the Lovestones, the Cannons, the Wolfes, the Schachtmans, the Halonens, and the Gitlows, knowing the dominating influence of Leninism, attempt to operate their betrayals with Leninist phrases, our party is strong enough and clear enough to thunder into their treacherous faces Lenin's words: *He who weakens, no matter how little, the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat, effectually helps the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.*

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Plenum of Central Committee C. P. S. U.

ON THE CONTROL FIGURES FOR NATIONAL ECONOMY FOR 1929-30

RESOLUTION

On the Reports of Comrades Krzhizhanovsky and Kuibishev, adopted by the Plenum of the C.C., C.P.S.U., Nov. 17, 1929

THE results of the past economic year, which bore the stamp of the flourishing growth of socialist industry and of the socialist elements in our national economy, bear witness to the tremendous new achievements of the working class, of the Soviet Government and of the Party, in the field of socialist construction.

The quota for the first year of the Five-Year Plan has been completed, and in a number of the most important branches of national economy, *the accomplishments have exceeded the tasks set by the Plan.* The production of large-scale socialist industry has increased by 23.7% (as compared with 21.4% required by the Plan), including those industries manufacturing means of production, the production of which has increased by 29.8%. (As compared with 25.6% required by the Plan). Electrical power has increased by 20.3%. (The Plan called for 14%). The freight turnover of the railroads has increased 21% (10.1% required by the Plan).

This growth of the chief branches of national economy, surpassing the tasks set by the Five-Year Plan, together with the further growth of the industrial proletariat (7.8%), the strengthening of its class position and the increase in its political activity, have also given a *fundamental impulse in the field of socialist reconstruction of agriculture,* which has found its expression in the rapid growth of collective farms on the basis of the active participation of the poor and middle peasant masses in the cause of the socialist transformation of the village.

As a result, the tempo of collectivization of agriculture has considerably exceeded the quotas of the Five-Year Plan. The total number of peasant holdings which have been drawn into collective farms has increased from 445,000 in 1927-28 to 1,040,000 in 1928-29 (as compared with 564,000 required by the Plan). The area sown by the collective farms has increased from 1.4 million hectares in 1927-28 to 4.3 million hectares in 1928-29—an increase of 206.7% (compared with 137.4% called for by the Plan). The share of the collective farms in the whole commodity produc-

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tion of agriculture has increased from 1.4% in 1927-28 to 4.9% in 1928-29, including breadstuffs where the increase was from 4.5% to 12.9%.

This unprecedented speed of collectivization, *surpassing the most optimistic of predictions*, bears witness to the fact that following the poor peasantry, the real masses of the *middle peasantry* were set in motion, becoming convinced in practice of the advantages of the collective forms of agriculture.

This decisive change in the attitude of the poor and middle peasant masses to the collective farms, which is the direct result of the correct policy of the working class and the Party in the village, the strengthening of the leading role of the working class in its alliance with the poor and middle peasantry, the powerful growth of socialist industry and the strengthening of the productive forms of the "smitchka," *signifies a new historical stage in the building of socialism in our country.*

Simultaneously with the gigantic tempo of collectivization, the greatest success has been attained in the construction of Soviet farms and of machine and tractor stations. The area sown by the Soviet farms in spring of 1929 increased by 27.5% (instead of 26.3% required by the Plan) and the gross production of breadstuffs by 34.7%.

Summarizing the whole socialized sector of agriculture, the gross production in 1928-29 was 612.8 million rubles (as against 283.2 million rubles in 1927-28), and commodity production, 263.9 million rubles (as against 134.5 million rubles in 1927-28). The share of the whole socialized sector in the gross grain collections increased for the year from 2.5% to 5.8% (4.9% required by the Plan), and in commodity grain collection from 12.2% to 21%.

The total growth of productive sown area, although lagging a little behind the quota of the Plan, was assured by the increase in area sown by the socialized sector and the poor and middle peasant farms in the village, which more than made good the decrease in area sown by the kulak and wealthy farms.

The increase in the area sown and in the commodity production of agriculture, the increase in collectivization, and the raising of the share of the socialized sector of commodity production, with the simultaneous efforts of the whole Party, Soviet, and co-operative apparatus in the field of grain production, the strengthening of the organization of the poor and middle peasantry for the struggle for the complete accomplishment of the Plan and the repression of the opposition and sabotage of the kulak, the increased repressive measures against grain speculation and the concealment of grain surpluses by the kulaks, the improvement in the supplying of the

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village with manufactured goods, etc.—all these have insured the favorable trend of the grain production, considerably exceeding the results of the last few years and permitting the establishment already in the current year of grain reserves up to 100 million poods.

The share of the socialized sector of national economy in general has grown as follows: capital investment from 52% to 65.2%; basic funds from 51.7% to 54.1%, and gross production from 41.9% to 43.5%.

In glaring contrast with the situation in the capitalist countries, the past year has been marked by a further improvement in the material situation of the working class: the growth of real wages (although lagging a little behind that set by the Plan), the changing over of about 500,000 workers to the seven-hour working day, and the further growth of the material and cultural services to the working class (construction of housing, social insurance, etc.).

The growth of national economy and its socialist sector was accompanied, and to a considerable extent caused by the increased creative activity of the widest masses of the working class, finding its expression in the development of self-criticism, the carrying through of "industrialization day," the broadest subscriptions to the industrilization loan, considerably oversubscribing the total amount of the loan, etc. The work of all the organizations of the working class (Party, unions, Soviets) became re-invigorated through the further strengthening of their connections with the wide masses of toilers, thoroughly transforming their manner and methods of work, and all orientating themselves more and more towards production—towards the economic tasks of socialist construction.

At the same time the opposition of the capitalist elements also became greater and sharper: the kulak in the village, the nepman in the city, the saboteur in production.

These results of the past economic year have completely confirmed the correctness of the whole policy of the Party and have given the final proof of the complete *bankruptcy* of the position of the right deviators (the group of Com. Bucharin), which proves to be nothing else but the expression of the pressure of the petty-bourgeois elements, of panic before the sharpening class struggle, and capitulation before the difficulties of socialist construction.

The Rights insisted that agriculture was undergoing a process of "degradation." *As a matter of fact,* we have had a further growth of the poor and middle peasant farms, a general increase in area sown, an increase in the supply of machinery, and a rise in the material-technical and agronomical level of development of agriculture.

The Rights insisted that the alliance of the poor and middle

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peasantry with the working class was being broken down. *In actual fact*, we have had a further strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and a strengthening in this alliance of the leading role of the proletariat, finding its expression in the rapid growth of collectivization and construction of Soviet farms.

The Rights prophesied the inevitability of famine and import of grain. *In actual fact*, we have had such an incease in grain production, that the whole country is assured of grain of domestic production, the establishment of grain reserves amounting to tens of millions of poods is assured, and all this together with a favorable balance of trade and accumulation of foreign valuta.

The Rights declared it was impossible to carry through the adopted tempo of collectivization and construction of Soviet farms, about the absence of the necessary material-technical prerequisites, and the unwillingness of the poor and middle peasantry to go over to collective forms of agriculture. *In actual fact*, we have such a rapid growth of collectivization, such a violent suction of the poor and middle farms into the socialist forms of economy, that the collective farm movement has already begun in practice to grow into the *solid collectivization of whole counties*. This signifies a new stage, a new zone in the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

The Rights, lacking faith in the creative forces of the working class, demanded the levelling-down to the "narrow places"—a passive adaptation to the difficulties. *In actual fact*, the working class, under the leadership of the Party, by actively overcoming these difficulties, has insured the further growth of the productive forces, in excess of the Plan, in the direction of socialism.

The Rights insisted on the inevitability of an economic crisis—that is, a breakdown of the normal course of production and reproduction. *In actual fact*, we have such an increase in production, such an acceleration of tempo, that we could never have dreamed of before, and which permits us in actual practice, to convert the maximum variation of the Five-Year Plan into a *minimum*.

Only by decisively overcoming the attempts of the right opportunists, objectively the mouthpieces of the economic and political interests of the petty-bourgeois elements and kulak-capitalist groups to turn the Party aside from the general line of our development, were the working class and the Party enabled to take this considerable step forward in the field of socialist construction.

The achievements in the field of socialist construction are necessarily accompanied by certain difficulties, sharpening the opposition of the capitalist elements. As heretofore, one of the most important

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tasks of the economic policy of the Party is the overcoming of the extraordinarily backward tempo of the development of agriculture, *and in particular of the grain and cattle-raising sector.* The radical solution of this problem lies in the direction of the further forcing of the processes of collectivization and construction of Soviet farms, in the direction of the further improvement and strengthening of the collective and Soviet farms, and finally through the forcing of the development of industry, which is the key to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Particular attention must be centered in the current economic year on the successful carrying through of the spring agricultural campaign.

Faced with the constantly increasing flow of the widest masses of poor and middle peasant farms into collective forms of agriculture, the fundamental difficulty in the execution of this greatest of historical tasks is *the lagging of those branches of industry which serve agriculture (agricultural machines, tractors, fertilizers), behind the actual tempo of collectivization and construction of Soviet farms.*

As heretofore, the "bottle-neck," both for agriculture and for industry, is the chemical industry, the tempo of development of which is lagging considerably behind the demands of the national economy.

The glaring disproportion remains behind the demands of the national economy and the production of the machine construction industry, despite the rapid tempo of development of the latter.

The greatest difficulties still remain in the field of supplying the country with fuel, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the deficiency of which hinders the realization of the projected tempo of development of machine construction, electrification, and the material-technical reconstruction of agriculture.

As heretofore despite the great achievements in the export of products of industry and secondary articles of export, the problem stands out sharply of forcing the development of the export branches of national economy (and first of all, lumber export), which are not developing fast enough and thus check and hinder the import of essential machines, semi-manufactured goods, and raw materials for industry.

Finally the *transport and road problem* stands out more than ever as one of the "bottle-necks" in national economy.

The tremendous accomplishments of the last years, the gigantic swing and the unprecedented tempo of economic development is a proof of the fact that the task of the Soviet Government of overtaking and surpassing the leading capitalist countries in the technical-economic field can be achieved within the shortest historical period.

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The indubitable advantages of the Soviet system of economy in comparison with the capitalist system are finding their confirmation more and more in the exceptionally rapid tempo of national economic development and of material-technical reconstruction of national economy, and in the raising of the material and cultural level of the working class and the toiling masses of the peasantry.

The flourishing growth of socialist forms of economy, the raising of their share in the whole national economy, the strengthening of their influence on the individual peasant economy, expressing itself in the elemental urge of the poor and middle peasant masses into collective forms of agriculture—all bears witness to the fact that the decisive success of the policy of the attack of socialism on the capitalist elements is assured, and *that the task of building socialism in the country of the proletarian dictatorship can be carried out in a minimum period, historically.*

The difficulties accompanying the rapid tempo of socialist construction, hardening the will and determination of the working class, draw into the work the new forces and new reserves of the proletarian revolution needed to overcome and liquidate these difficulties.

At the same time, the sharpening of the class struggle and the stubborn opposition of the capitalist elements attacking socialism in a situation of capitalist encirclement of our country, increases the pressure of the petty-bourgeois elements on the least stable elements of the Party, giving rise to the ideology of *capitulation before difficulties, desertion,* and attempts to compromise with the kulak-capitalist elements of the city and village.

"The petty-bourgeois democrats have a peculiar attitude towards the class struggle, imagining that they can get along without it, trying to soften it and reconcile it, to smooth off the sharp corners. For this reason, such democrats either protect themselves from any recognition of the whole historical transition zone from capitalism to communism, or consider it their task to work out plans of reconciling both of the combatant forces, instead of leading one of these forces in its right." (Lenin, Vol. XIV, pp. 347-348).

This attitude towards the class struggle, "trying to soften it, and reconcile it, to smooth off the sharp corners," imagining that they can get along without it, is characteristic of the whole position of the Right opportunists (the group of Com. Bucharin). Right here are the roots of the complete misunderstanding of the Bucharin group of the sharpening of the class struggle which is taking place, the wrong estimation of the opposing forces of the kulak-nepman elements, the anti-Leninist theory of the kulak "growing into socialism," the resistance to the policy of offensive against capitalist

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elements of the village. Right here are hidden the roots of the complete misunderstanding of the Right deviators of the co-operative plan of Comrade Lenin, establishing the significance of the collective forms of economy in agriculture, the underestimation of the construction of Soviet farms, the demands to slacken the tempo of industrialization and to weaken the productive forms of the "smitchka."

Refusing to recognize their errors in the questions of economic policy, in the questions of industrialization of the country, collectivization of agriculture and construction of Soviet farms, refusing to recognize their errors in estimating and misunderstanding the class struggle, finally, attempting to go over to methods of factional struggle against the Party, the Bucharin group has finally exposed its anti-Leninist, anti-bolshevist nature. In this connection the Plenum declares that it recognizes the propaganda of the views of Right Opportunism and Conciliation as incompatible with membership in the ranks of the C. P. S. U.

Simultaneously with the strengthening of the right danger, as an expression of the pressure of the same petty-bourgeois elements, the sallies against the general Party line of the Trotzkyists and semi-Trotzkyists with their anti-peasant attitude, are again renewed. While confirming that the right deviation and conciliation with it remain the chief danger, the C. C. notifies all Party organizations under no conditions to weaken the struggle against the "left" opportunist attitudes and against any positions of tolerance towards such attitudes.

The achievements of the past year were won by the working class and the Party through the decisive struggle against the Right deviations and against the "left" opportunist attitudes, through the irreconcilable exposure of the remnants of counter-revolutionary Trotzkyist ideology. The future conquests of socialism lie on the same road of decisive, systematic exposure of the anti-Leninist petty-bourgeois nature of the right and "left" opportunists and the conciliators, and of merciless struggle against the manifestations of these deviations in practice.

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The Negro and the Struggle Against Imperialism

By J. W. FORD

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GENERAL STATEMENT

THE so-called Negro "problem" has been consistently misstated for so long that a survey of it is needed, especially with regards to the Negro under imperialism. We are in the period of the general decay of capitalism; sharpening of antagonisms are producing a real serious crisis in capitalism and imperialism which really characterizes capitalism at the present time. This period is of tremendous significance to the international working class and oppressed peoples and is of very great importance to the Negro people themselves. The future history of the Negro in the struggles for liberation, for political, social and economic advancement depends immeasurably upon how they estimate the present period of imperialism, the concrete organization tasks they put before themselves in order to achieve these things and the unity they establish with the international struggle against imperialism. Indeed, the Negro people are passing through one of the most important periods of struggle for liberation. We have already seen the great struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants; we see rising waves of revolt and struggle in India; we are witnessing great waves of revolt in the working class and proletariat in the home lands of imperialism.

IMPERIALISM AND THE NEGROES

For our purpose in dealing with the special question of the Negro, imperialism is that stage of capitalism when the whole globe has been divided and distributed amongst a few of the greatest capitalists powers, and especially the territory of Africa; and when there is going on amongst the Negroes of America class changes, the development of a Negro bourgeoisie which, subordinating itself to the big white bourgeoisie, causes a more intense exploitation of the

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Negro toiling masses of America. Imperialism nurses and stimulates racial hatreds by means of racial oppression.

WORLD WAR AWAKENS NEGROES

During the imperialist war of 1914-18 hundreds of thousands of Negroes were brought into direct contact with western customs and culture; millions of Negroes were brought from the agricultural and peasant regions of the southern part of the U. S. A. into the industries of the north and became a fixed part of the industrial proletariat of America. At the same time imperialism has carried industrial development into the colonies of Africa and is producing, though small, yet a substantial proletariat, especially in South Africa.

Already the post-war period has given rise to class-consciousness and organized revolt of Negro toilers against imperialism. But in order to understand this new period of the Negro's struggle it is necessary to understand the old periods of capitalist exploitation and oppression of the Negroes.

MODERN IMPERIALISM AND THE NEGROES

The process of the economic and political enslavement of the Negro peoples has extended over a period of 300 years and may be divided into three stages.

1. The classical period—the period of merchant-capitalism which stood everywhere for a system of snatching slaves, marked the birth of the notorious African slave trade. This was the time when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British were at the high tide of their business of dealing in slaves. It is estimated that over a hundred million Negroes were torn from Africa during the course of three hundred years. Fabulous fortunes were made on the slave traffic. It is estimated that profits ranged from one hundred per cent to one hundred and fifty per cent. In the early colonial days in Massachusetts the rum-slave traffic was paying one hundred per cent profit. The average price of slaves were: in 1840, $325; in 1850, $360; in 1860, $500. It was on slave traffic profits, including the rape of India, that England was able to lay the basis of the British Empire; as well it was of tremendous profit to America. Thus capitalist exploitation and profits were at the very basis of the beginning of the enslavement of the Negro people.

2. The second period—the period of industrial-capitalism marked the beginning of the territorial division of Africa, and the capitalist exploitation of its natural resources through the exploitation of the labor power of the natives. At the same time, because the slave traf-

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fic and this method of securing labor supply became too costly and wasteful, this period marked the liquidation of the "legal" slave traffic. This stage marked not only the period for supplying the primary resources of the growing manufacturing enterprises of England but as well marked the period in America when the slave traffic gave away to the intense plantation exploitation of the Negro slaves as the main source of profits, and laid the basis of the present might and wealth of American imperialism. Over seventy-five million bales of cotton were produced in America from 1826 to the opening of the Civil War, and from the close of the Civil War to 1884, over fifteen million bales. Thus the cessation of the slave traffic really increased and carried forward the profit-making of the previous period.

3. The third stage, and this is the period that we are most concerned with, is the epoch of imperialism and marks the completion of the partitioning of Africa and the complete enslavement of its people; it marks the period, in addition to the already intense exploitation of the Negroes by the big white bourgeoisie, of class demarkations amongst the Negroes themselves, in which the rising Negro bourgeoisie is hand in hand supporting the exploitation of the Negroes by the big white bourgeoisie; and the already extreme racial barriers continue the special exploitation of the Negroes, all of which mark the most intense exploitation of the Negroes.

POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

What is the present policy of imperialism with regards to the Negro peoples? Whereas in early history of India, England followed a policy which uprooted and tore down old customs and institutions and feudal systems which amounted to a social revolution, in Africa, excepting possibly South Africa, British imperialism is following a policy of maintaining the old customs and hindering the industrial development of the country as was done previously in India, and is ruling the country through native chiefs while she sucks profits from the territories, thus degrading and perpetually carrying on a policy which hinders the advancement of the toiling masses of Africa.

French imperialism, while tearing down old customs, is at the same time in actuality exterminating whole territories of the population.

The policy of imperialism is, in actuality, a policy of retarding the industrial development of the country, a policy which results in retarding and hindering the advancement of the African people, and standing in contrast to it is the agrarian policy—the policy of maintaining Africa as the "countryside" for the European imperial-

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ists, as the leading source of raw materials, as market centers, as centers for surplus investments of capital accumulations gained through the exploitations of the workers in the home countries. The latter of these conditions, i. e., as sources of raw materials, as market centers and as centers for surplus capital accumulation, is leading to intense rivalries and contradictions amongst the imperialists themselves, and is the determining factor leading to another war.

Industrialization in Africa

This does not mean that industrialization is not taking place in Africa, on the contrary, great amounts of capital is going in one form or another toward the development of industries in Africa, from British, French, American and Belgian sources.

As a result of these imperialist interests in Africa, tremendous industrial developments are going on—the building of railroads, the developing of mines, steel mills, etc. The chief industries in the Belgian Congo (extraction of copper, gold, diamonds, silver) have in the last few years trebled their output—the following are the production figures: Copper in 1921 31,000 tons, in 1926 82,000 tons; diamonds in 1921 157,896 carats, in 1926 1,114,383 carats; gold in 1921 2,228 kilog., in 1926 3,645 kilog. For exports: 126,210 tons in 1923, in 1926 203,000 tons; imports: 330,000 tons in 1923, in 1926 666,000 tons.

In South Africa gold, coal, lead, zinc, etc., have taken tremendous strides. Production has reached tremendous figures, involving also much labor. Take the figures: Gold production in 1927 was 10,299,200 ounces, valued at £43,685,300. Lead in Rhodesia in 1927, the production was 5,857 tons, and in the first quarter of 1928, 1,495 tons. Copper in Tanganyika, in December, 1927, showed 9,800 tons, and in the first quarter of 1928, 37,600 tons.

Rhodesia produces the *cheapest zinc in the world,* with one plant producing at the rate of 18,500 tons per year.

The report of the Union mines of Haut-Katauga, Belgian Congo, showed a production of 1,730,000 tons of copper for 1927. The report also showed a business total of 410,025,734 francs, and a profit of 140,297,877 francs. This is the production of copper, tin, radium, cobalt, uranium.

At Pretoria, South Africa, a large steel mill is under construction.

LIBERIA—Firestone, a U. S. A. rubber concern, has entered Liberia; 30,000 acres are planted with 6,000,000 rubber trees; 10,000 natives are at work who receive less than 30 cents a day.

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The Native Populations (Proletariat), South Africa

The overwhelming majority of the South African population is native and colored (about five and one-half million native and colored people and one and a half million white). The Negroes constitute the majority of the *working class*. Let us take the figures.

White	176,072	(27%)
Colored	467,013	(73%)
	643,085	

	White		*Colored*	
(1) Mining	39,029	(11%)	305,589	(89%)
(2) Transport	66,139	(62%)	40,830	(38%)
(3) Production	71,004	(37%)	120,594	(63%)
	176,172		467,013	

In the Belgian Congo in 1929 in the gold, copper and diamond mines there were 31,655 native workers, in 1926 there were 61,182. In the Union mines of Catagu there were 16,448 natives workers.

Agriculture

Here again South Africa is typical. The native and colored population may be divided as follows:

(1) Natives on their own tribal lands (reserves) 51%
(2) Detribalize natives on European-owned land ... 34%
(3 Native workers in mines and city areas 14%

In 1910 the agricultural export of South Africa was £9,500,000, in 1927 it was £22,000,000; in 1910 the agricultural export was 18% of the total exports, in 1927 it was 32%, this in face of the increase of gold export for the same year, of from £32,000,000 to £42,000,000.

The number of dairy factories in South Africa increased during the period of 1915-25 from 59 to 124. In Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Liberia and in the whole West Coast of Africa are vast agricultural developments.

In South Africa the native reserves form only one-eighth of the total land of the union, and natives are not allowed to purchase land outside the reserves. Certain areas of crown land which it was once suggested might be added to the reserves are being alienated to the whites, for example, large areas in the Northern Transwaal which were regarded as suitable for cotton growing. The existing reserves are hopelessly inadequate for the needs of the present population,

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and large number of natives are compelled for this reason and also by taxation and pressure of the chief (who act as government agents) to go out to work in the white areas. At any moment over one-third of the adult male population of the reserves is away at work in the towns or on the white farms.

Political Situation in South Africa

The native population has (in South Africa) no electoral rights (with the exception of the Cape province), the power of the state has been monopolized by the white bourgeoisie which has at its disposal the armed white forces. The white bourgeoisie, chiefly the Boers, defeated by the arms of British imperialism at the close of the last century, had for a long time carried on a dispute with British capital. But as much as the process of capitalist development goes on in the country, the interests of the South African bourgeoisie are becoming more and more blended with the interests of British financial and industrial capital, and the white South African bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to compromise with British imperialism, forming together with the latter an united front of whites for the exploitation of the native population.

In West Africa and other parts we have practically the same situation. The rule of the imperialists by indirect methods through native chiefs with the overwhelming population without any political expression. In French Africa they rule by iron hand of the army and constabularies as well as in the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Africa.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES

America

In America there are upward of 12,000,000 Negroes, of which two-thirds are peasants and agricultural workers living in the South. During and since the world war there was a great migration of Negroes from the South into the industries of the North, which created an industrial proletariat.

The general outline of the economic and industrial development in America is fairly well known to us all. The general situation of the Negro worker and the Negro peasant cannot be separated from that of the white and other workers and peasants of America. There are, however, some very special and characteristic features of the Negro's exploitation and conditions under imperialism in America that must be considered by us.

Eighty-six per cent of the Negro population live in the South; of this number 74% reside in the rural districts and depend upon agriculture for a livelihood. Approximately one-half of these rural

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dwellers live in the so-called black belt where they constitute more than 50% of the population. The great mass of Negroes are subjected to the most ruthless form of exploitation and persecution. American imperialism utilizes peonage, share cropping, landlordism, etc., for the super-exploitation of the Negroes and for super-profits. In order to perpetuate this super-exploitation there has grown up, and constantly aggravated, a system of political inequality, lynching, segregation, "jim-crowism," etc.

The American imperialists faced with the growing revolt in the ranks of the great mass of the Negro workers and peasants, either must see these revolts grow in size and momentum or try to hamper them by granting concessions and even assisting the development of a Negro bourgeoisie. Rockefeller and Julius Rosenwald of Chicago were supporting Negro business organizations. Rockefeller has recently organized a bank for Negroes in New York.

Besides the Negroes themselves are feverishly building big business enterprises, in Chicago, New York, North Carolina, and throughout the country. Thus the lot of the great masses of Negro workers and peasants is becoming doubly hard, the exploitation is like a double edged sword. They have no political rights in the South where the great bulk of the Negroes live.

West Indies

The West Indies are typically an agricultural country. It is the biggest market place for the export of goods from America than any of the Latin and Central American countries. The whole of Haiti is under the iron hand of American marines. The Independence of Haiti, gained by the overthrow of the French domination during the Haitian Revolution, has been completely nullified by the American marines; the people are garrotted and ruled, in addition to the marines, by a fake illegal president who is nothing but a tool of American imperialism. The country, in spite of its natural richness, is in poverty, the like of which has never been seen since the days before the Haitian Revolution.

Forced Labor

Special attention must be given to this question. We have from the pen of a French journalist the picture of the effects of forced labor in Equatorial Africa. He tells of how the natives in building the Ocean-Congo railroad work with only pick and shovel and without the aid of mechanical devices and transport; how they have to carry building material hundreds of miles; how they must work ten and twelve hours a day at a stretch, half starved, almost naked, without shelter or other protection from the change of the

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weather; how they die like flies. For every kilometer of railroad laid down the toll is 200 deaths; already 17,000 Negroes have perished in laying the railroad. In forty years that France has ruled the Congo the population has gone down 75% principally from the effects of forced labor.

Mozambique Treaty

This treaty allows the Rand mine owners of South Africa to recruit native labor in Portuguese East Africa for certain definite considerations at the rate of 75,000 natives per year for period of 18 months. Many natives have died in making the long trips because of the change in climate, because of inadequate facilities of transportation and protection on the way; half of the native's wage is retained until his return at the end of his contract period. Portuguese Negroes indentured in this way find themselves in extremely bad conditions. All articles taken out of South Africa are heavily taxed, workers have to pay additional fees if their passports are prolonged.

West Africa

In West Africa railroads and bridges are built by forced labor. In Portuguese West Africa, in British South West Africa floggings and vagrancy is resorted to to force the natives to work. In certain sections boys 14 years of age are forced to labor. In other sections taxation is resorted to, whereby able bodied men are conscripted for periods of 6 days at a time.

West Indies

Here we find the same kind of "community" improvement resorted to: natives at the point of U. S. marine bayonets are forced to build roads without compensations; natives are conscripted for work on the Cuban sugar plantations.

Southern U. S. A.

In the southern part of the U. S. A. facts come to light daily of the existence of peonage by which Negroes are worked on the plantations of the South as forced laborers, in some cases Negroes have been discovered, who have been in this bondage since the Civil War, not knowing even that bond slavery had ended with the Civil War. Recently reports have come out in which the police forces of Florida are forcing Negroes to build roads without pay. Negro convicts are leased to mine owners and plantation owners in the South.

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III

The Tasks and Tactics in the Struggle Against Imperialism

1. The toiling masses of Negroes throughout the world can see no hope for rectifying their conditions under imperialism, indeed there is no hope, not the slightest chance. The Negro toiling masses must look forward to mobilizing their forces for a joint struggle against imperialism, for independence and self-rule.

INDEPENDENCE, SELF-RULE AND SELF-DETERMINATION

South Africa

The inception of Negro reformism, as a result of the corruptionist policy of the white bourgeoisie, constitutes the characteristic fact of the present political situation in South Africa.

The united front of the British and South African white bourgeoisie against the toiling Negro population, backed by the white and Negro reformists, creates the possibility for uniting the white and black proletariat and the landless black peasantry for a struggle against British imperialism, against the white bourgeoisie and against the white and black reformist leaders.

South Africa is a black country, the majority of its population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The basis of the South African question is the black peasantry whose land has been expropriated by the white exploiting minority. Seven-eighths of the land is owned by the whites. Hence, the national question lies at the foundation of the struggle against imperialism in South Africa. The black peasantry constitutes the basic moving force of the revolution in alliance with and under the leadership of the working class, under the central slogan: *An independent native South African Republic based upon the workers' and peasants' organization with full safeguard and equal rights for all national minorities.*

America

In America the main struggle as we have seen from the foregoing centers around the fact that the Negroes are bound down by means of political, economic and social inequalities. The Negro agricultural laborers and the tenant farmers feel most the pressure of white persecution and exploitation. Thus, the agrarian problem lies at the root of any Negro liberation movement in America. Under the leadership of the proletariat, the Negro peasants of America will be able to participate in the joint struggle with all other workers against imperialism. In the Southern part of the U. S. A., on the

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"Black Belt," where they constitute the majority of the population, the Negro has the right of self-determination.

We must carry on a relentless struggle against the terrorism of the fascist Ku-Klux-Klan, the American Legion; against mob violence and lynch law; against all forms of racial chauvinism, all forms of racial discrimination and segregation.

West Africa

There must be complete national independence for all the colonies of West Africa (Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Nigeria).

Liberia

The complete independence of Liberia and the immediate withdrawal of Americal imperialist agents from Liberian territory.

Belgian Congo

The independence of the Belgian Congo.

Abyssinia

The unqualified independence of Abyssinia; the abrogation of all treaties that provide for the partitioning of Abyssinia.

Haiti

The complete sovereignty and independence of Haiti; the cancellation of all debts and the restoration of the customs; the abrogation of all treaties which are directed towards the political and economic subjugation of Haiti.

Jamaica

The complete separation of Jamaica from the British imperialist empire.

Central American Countries

For all the Central American countries we must demand for the Negro subjects full and complete political, economic and social equality.

East Africa

For all the colonies of British East Africa we must struggle for:

1. The British evacuation of the Colonies.
2. The return of expropriated territory of the natives.

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3. The abolition of "Curce system" and forced labor.

Equal pay for equal work.
An eight-hour day.
Against forced labor.
For labor legislation.
Protection for women and youth.
Freedom of Trade Unions.
Against class collaboration.
Against racial barriers in Trade Union.
Organization of special Unions of Negro workers where white Unions bar Negroes.
Against white terrorism—the organization of defence corps.
Adequate housing and social conditions.
Organization of agricultural workers.
Against confiscation of peasant lands and communals, poll tax and hut tax.
For equal civil rights.

Struggle Against War

The Negro workers of the U. S. A. must concentrate their forces in the unions of the Trade Union Unity League; its special Trade Union Department for Negro workers is organized to deal with the special problems of the Negro workers and struggle for their admittance into all unions of white workers in America upon an equal basis.

Non-European Federation of South Africa must strengthen its forces and build their organizations; they must extend their influence among the agricultural workers, they must penetrate and organize the big basic mining industry, they must struggle to build a strong revolutionary movement in South Africa based on all the workers and peasants regardless to race or color. They must struggle against the Amsterdam International and reformism whether it is represented by Kadalie or whether by Ballinger of the General Council of England.

LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The liberation movements of the Negro masses take different form in different sections. The essential characteristic of Negro Liberation movements must be that the central question is the question of relationship to the Negro masses, and must be based upon the great bulk of the Negro population, their demands, their specific and special demands. Liberation movements cannot hope to be successful unless they have this characteristic. Liberation move-

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ments cannot go far, cannot play a final role in the liberation of the Negroes representing partial, middle class demands. If the middle class and intellectuals wish to serve in the liberation of the masses they must be organizers and servants of the masses. The liberation movements also demand programs that offer the masses real assistance in their desperate needs and conditions. The liberation movement must be a struggle towards social liberation. Social liberation like economic liberation must lead towards self-determination, towards the elimination of all of those social fetters that are confining the Negro masses to narrow and limited pathes, into "ghetto" life, into isolation whereby they can be more easily exploited, into places of oppression, into narrow political surroundings. All of these demands means, in actuality, a struggle for separation from imperialist domination; for imperialist foster these conditions for the specific reasons of oppresson and exploitation.

A PROGRAM

Here we cannot outline any detailed program. Such must require a more careful study according to conditions; we cannot outline any one program that would serve the Negro people identically throughout the world. We can merely point out a general direction:

a. The Land Question

1. The expropriation of land formerly held by Negroes.
2. The abolition of all taxes, such as poll taxes and hut taxes.
3. Support for agriculture such as seed, implements, stock, credits, etc.
4. Repeal of Land Acts.
5. The establishment of agrarian organizations of poor peasants and the formation of farm laborers' unions.

b. Civil Rights.

1. Freedom of speech, assembly, press, etc.
2. Abolition of pass law.
3. Evacuation of imperialist soldiers and marines from the lands of Negroes.
4. Abolition of peonage.
5. Abolition of jim-crow laws and segregation.
6. Universal suffrage.
7. Abolition of caste systems and racial divisions.

c. Taxation.

The abolition of all forms of taxation that have as their purpose the enslavement and placing of great burdens of debts upon the

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working population, including loans, custom regulations in the hands of the imperialists; the weighing down of the people with great revenue taxes.

d) Education.

The elimination of illiteracy; the establishment of free universal education.

e) Social conditions.

The elimination of ghetto life and living conditions; the elimination of congestion that is detriment to health; proper hospitalization for children and especially for women in pregnancy, free hospitals and free dispensaries.

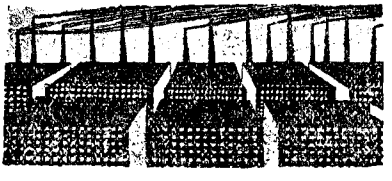
f. Labor conditions.

Establishment of labor inspection laws; abolition of child labor; establishment of full trade union rights.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION

These are only partial demands that must be enlarged upon. The form or organization must be such that it includes all sections of the Negro working population, and student groups, young workers, intellectuals, middle classes, etc.

These two programs—Trade Union and Liberation—are very closely and indistinguishably connected with the struggle for self-determination, for native republics, for separation from imperialism and capitalism and as a result are direct blows centered at the very heart of imperialism.



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Some Experiences in Organizing the Negro Workers

By EARL BROWDER

IN view of the tremendous tasks facing the revolutionary movement in organizing the Negro workers together with the white workers in the revolutionary unions, it is of value to secure as much knowledge as possible of past experiences in this direction. Especially is this clear when we realize that past experience bear out recent events in the South, proving that "racial prejudice" is an artificial thing deliberately cultivated by the employers, and that it can quickly be broken down, and the white and Negro workers can be, and have been, mobilized in fraternal working class solidarity for common struggle.

The following story of events in Chicago in 1919, was furnished to me by Jack Johnstone, at that time secretary of the Stock Yards Labor Council, in the form of his personal recollections and in newspaper clippings and leaflets.

The race riots in Chicago, in 1919, were organized by the white bourgeoisie, in an effort to enforce an unofficial segregation of Negroes who were being drawn from the South into industry in large numbers, especially in the stock yards. They took place at a time of sharp class struggles all over the world—the time of the first German revolution, and the slaughter of the German workers by "Bloody Noske" the socialist; of the imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union; of the general strikes of Winnipeg and Seattle, in America, and the great movements of the steel workers, miners, and packing house workers. The masses of workers in the American Federation of Labor were, in spite of and against their bureaucratic leaders, developing militant struggles. The race riots of Chicago were a part of the counter-offensive of the capitalist class against the rising tide of working class revolt.

In July, 1919, the employers of Chicago instigated and encouraged a movement to drive the Negro workers out of certain residential sections by violence, making use of bombing of Negro homes to terrorize them and drive them into "Negro districts." The aim was to impress upon the Negro workers that in the North, as well as in the South, from which they had recently come, they must "know their place," the place of "loyal" slaves of white masters; to establish the dogma of racial inferiority, with lower

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wages for the Negro workers than for the whites, with worse unsanitary housing conditions; to divide the white and Negro workers; to imbue the white workers with a false feeling of superiority, and whip them into mob violence against the Negroes. This aim, a classical example of imperialist methods of dealing with oppressed peoples and the working class, was carried through by the bourgeoisie in many cities, above all in Chicago.

That this movement was consciously supported by the ruling capitalist circles, is amply demonstrated by an extract from an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, July 2, 1919, which said:

> "Regardless of the validity of the claims of the whites, it is a matter of fact that these claims do exist, the whites do resent the appearance of colored people in white neighborhoods and the resentment does, whether justly or not, work a change in the neighborhood feeling and in property values. We may as well look the facts squarely in the face and we ask the colored people to consider them."

The ringleaders in the capitalist conspiracy were the Packing House capitalists (the "Packers," for short). The largest part of the Negroes were in the packing houses, and the riots were designed to destroy the unions. For months prior to the outbreak, the Stock Yards Labor Council had recognized the serious threat directed against it by the situation being deliberately created by the employers, who had their agents working among both white and Negro workers.

WHITE AND NEGRO AGENTS OF THE BOSSES

First in importance of the bosses' agents among the workers were the officials of the A. F. of L. craft unions affiliated to the Stock Yards Labor Council; these constituted less than 10 per cent. of the total membership, the main bulk of which was butcher workmen, or unskilled workers, whose union took in Negroes on a basis of full equality. These craft union officials, by their discrimination against the Negro workers, furnished the basis for the agitation among the Negroes against all unions with white workers, even though the Stock Yards Labor Council organized all Negroes, of whatever craft, into the general organization when they were excluded by the craft unions.

The Negro agents of the bosses were not from among the workers. They were such elements as the secretary of the Negro Y. M. C. A., and two Negro aldermen of the second ward, who were on the payroll of the Packers. One of them, Alderman L. B. Anderson, appeared before the government Food Administrator, Alschuler, ostensibly on behalf of the Negroes, but in reality for the Packers, to oppose the recognition of the Union. The

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Packers, through their paid Negro agents, even went so far as to organize a Negro company union, which issued the following proclamation:

> "GET A SQUARE DEAL WITH YOUR OWN RACE"
>
> "Time has come for Negroes to do now or never. Get together and stick together is the call of the Negro. Like all other races make your own way, other races have made their unions for themselves. They are not going to give it to you because you join his union. Make a union of your own race; union is strength. Join the American Unity Packers Union of the Stockyards, this will give you a card to work at any trade, or as a common laborer, as a steamfitter, etc. A card from this union will let you work in Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Louis, or any other city where the Five Packers have packinghouses.
>
> "This union does not believe in strikes. We believe all differences between labor and capital can be arbitrated. Strikes is our last motive if any at all."
>
> "GET IN LINE FOR A GOOD JOB."
>
> (Signed) "American Unity Packers Union of the Stockyards."

The Stock Yards Labor Council opposed the agents of the bosses with a program of organization of the Negroes, with a guarantee of equal rights. Inter-racial dances and other social affairs were organized. Any Negro barred from one or other of the A. F. of L. craft unions, could join any local of the Butcher Workers. A Negro was elected vice-president of the Stock Yards Labor Council, and there were seven paid Negro organizers, who were: Bell and Robinson, two Negro organizers from the United Mine Workers; John Riley, an engineer; A. K. Foote, vice-president of the Council; a steamfitter, barred from the steamfitters' union; Robert Bedford and I. H. Bratton, butchers; and a Negro woman (name unavailable at time of writing) from the Women's Trade Union League.

The Stock Yards Labor Council carried on a constant struggle with small craft unions which barred Negroes, to force them to abandon all discrimination. This struggle for equal rights culminated during the race riots, in the adoption of a resolution by the Council, expelling from the Council all unions which refused to accept the Negroes on a basis of full equality.

THE STRUGGLE IN JULY AND AUGUST

It was under these conditions, plus the atmosphere created by the race riots in Washington and other cities, that the Stock Yards Labor Council decided in June, 1919, to intensify the campaign to draw all Negroes into the Union. Street-corner organization meetings were organized. The Packers used mounted police to

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ride into these meetings and break them up. The Stock Yards Labor Council called a protest strike, which was only settled by the workers winning the right to speak on the streets, and by the removal from the district of the police officer in charge of the aggressions, Captain Caughlin. Thousands of Negro and white workers joined the Union. The climax of this campaign was to be a parade of Negro and white workers, through the Negro neighborhood, on July 6, which was nicknamed the "checkerboard parade."

At the last moment before the parade took place, the police issued an order forbidding it, on the demand of the Packers and the Negro politicians, on the grounds that it might provoke a conflict. The Stock Yards Labor Council made one of its serious mistakes by failing to defy this order of the police; instead, whites and Negroes paraded separately, coming together in a joint demonstration in Beutner playground at LaSalle and 33rd Street. There took place an enthusiastic demonstration of solidarity of 25,000 to 30,000 Negro and white workers.

On July 27th, the employers played their trump card. White agents, with faces blackened to appear as Negroes, set fire to and burned a block of houses inhabited by white stockyard workers, mostly Poles. Immediately the employers threw a large force of militia, police, and deputy sheriffs, into the stock yards, and their agents spread among the white workers to incite them to violence against the Negroes.

The Stock Yards Labor Council called a mass meeting, which was held at 50th Street and Oakley, attended by 30,000 white workers. The meeting unanimously and enthusiastically declared its solidarity with the Negroes. Even the capitalist *Herald-Examiner*, reporting the meeting, was forced to give the keynote of the meeting as contained in the speech of J. W. Johnston, secretary of the Council, who said:

> "He (the Negro) has the same privileges in organized labor as you have. It is up to you to protect him. The non-union Negro is being brought into the yards by the Packers, he must be brought into the Union. There is no color line in this Union, and any man who attempts to draw one violates the Union code and has no right to protection."

The meeting voted to strike, demanding the withdrawal of all the armed forces from the stock yards. This strike-vote was endorsed by the 4,000 Negroes in the Union. White and Negro workers went on strike together, and stayed out until their demand was met.

The presence of militia, police, and deputy sheriffs in the stock yards was for the purpose of covering the organized assault made by

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the Packers' agents upon the Negroes, and to participate in the pogrom started by these agents. All that had gone before, bombing of Negro homes, the killing of two Negroes early in July, was but a prelude. The militia and police were used to disarm the Negroes; while the white pogromists were given a free hand to kill Negroes. There were 2,800 police and 3,000 militiamen thrown into the Negro districts. Not one white man was killed or wounded by police and militia, but at least a half of the Negro casualty list were killed or wounded by the police and militia. In spite of this one-sided struggle the Negroes defended themselves exceptionally well.

The Stock Yards Labor Council held its 35,000 white and Negro workers on strike, in solidarity with the Negro workers, demanding the withdrawal of the armed forces, and the return of the Negroes to the Yards under the sole protection of the Union. This sustained demonstration of inter-racial solidarity played a large part in bringing the riots to a close. During the whole time, no considerable number of white workers in the stock yards were involved in the assaults upon the Negroes; on the contrary, the 35,000 organized white and Negro workers stood solidly together—the one bright spot on a black page of American history, the race riots—carnivals of murder—organized throughout America in 1919 by the capitalist class.

Acting from working class instinct, without revolutionary theory and therefore with many blunders, yet the Stock Yards Labor Council had made a real contribution to the development of revolutionary trade unionism in the United States, on one of its most important problems, the organization of the Negro masses together with the whites in close solidarity.

THE BETRAYAL BY THE A. F. OF L.

With the close of the riots, and the return of the workers to the Yards after the withdrawal of the armed forces, the Packers and their agents organized a new assault, and an even more vicious one, against the Stock Yards Labor Council.

The capitalist press led the way, with a campaign of accusation against the Council that it (the Council) had been the cause of the pogrom against the Negroes.

The Packers followed by discharging 400 white workers, the Union shop stewards, who had led their departments on strike.

The Government, through the Food Commissioner, Alschuler, condemned the Union for striking in support of the Negroes.

Finally, the National Secretary of the Butcher Workmen's Union (A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A.), Dennis Lane, who had disappeared from the city during the pogrom (like Mayor

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Thompson, another "friend" of the Negroes!), reappeared upon the scene. He condemned the officials of the Stock Yards Labor Council as "Bolsheviks and I. W. W.'s," and expelled the Stock Yards Labor Council from the Union with its 30,000 members.

This mass expulsion, because of left-wing policies, was the first of its kind in America in the post-war period. It was endorsed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the Chicago Federation of Labor was instructed to throw out the delegates of the Stock Yards Labor Council.

At that time the Chicago Federation of Labor headed the "progressive" tendency within the A. F. of L. It defended the position of the Stock Yards Labor Council. But finally, in order to save the Chicago Federation from being also expelled, it was mutually agreed by Federation and Council that the latter should withdraw, and that the Federation should continue (as it did) to give its support to the Council.

This weak and mistaken policy of the Federation and the Council was characteristic of that period. All who took part in those struggles were without any well-developed revolutionary theory or program of action, with the result that the most serious mistakes were constantly being made. The left-wing socialists, then in the process of forming the first Communist Parties, were entirely outside the struggle. The I. W. W. isolated itself on principle. The little group of militants in the A. F. of L., who had left the socialist party for the syndicalist movement, were, while more practical in the current struggles, still entirely without a correct revolutionary program or perspective.

The result of these expulsions, and the lack of aggressive struggle against them, was the destruction of the militant union of the Stock Yards Labor Council. It was killed by the treachery of the A. F. of L. officialdom, who could not forgive its achievement of solidarity of white and Negro workers against the capitalist class; but the A. F. of L. officials could not have succeeded in killing it, if the Stock Yards Labor Council had been able to fight under a clear, theoretically-grounded, Bolshevik leadership.

JOINT STRUGGLE OF BLACK AND WHITE

The outstanding lesson of 1919, in Chicago, is that all the obstacles to unity and solidarity between white and black workers came, not from either group of workers themselves, but from the enemies of the working class—from the capitalist press, from the bosses, from the bourgeois politicians (white and black), and from the reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom.

Not at any single moment was there any resistance from workers,

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white or black, to the policy of equality, of solidarity, of the Stock Yard Labor Council.

The Negro workers, while their bourgeois race leaders were crawling on their bellies before their white paymasters, defended themselves, remained solidly with the Union, and refused to go back to work except under the direction of the Stock Yard Labor Council.

It was 30,000 white workers who struck solidly, against the employers, the government and all its forces, and against their own highest A. F. of L. officials, in solidarity with their Negro brothers.

From both white and black workers, there was unanimous and conscious joint struggle for a common program against the reactionaries of both races, but above all against the white capitalist class and its agents.

These experiences proved, just as today the National Miners' Union, the National Textile Workers' Union, and all the sections of the Trade Union Unity League are proving, that there is no deep division between white and black workers, that racial prejudice are artificial cultivations of the capitalist class, designed to break the solidarity of the workers, but which can and must be completely smashed, in order that the working class may unite all its forces, of all races and colors, men and women, youth and adults, for its common struggle against the common enemy.

This story was told by Jack Johnstone to a meeting of strikers in the Murray Body plant in Detroit a few months ago, when a young Negro comrade had asked if the Chicago race riots were not caused by a fight between union white workers and non-union Negro workers. The young Negro comrade asked Johnstone to write up the story. Johnstone has been too busy since then with organizational and strike work to do the job. The present writer has been glad to volunteer to do it for him, in the firm belief that it will contribute to the fulfillment of our present task of organizing Negro and white workers for joint struggle, for a common program.

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A Trade Union Program of Action For Negro Workers

THE Negro toiling masses are subjected both to capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression—they suffer as members of the working class and of an oppressed race. In this or that country the one or the other form of oppression predominates.

In the U.S.A. the Negro toilers are mercilessly exploited, on the cotton plantations and in the mines, factories, and workshops of the Southern and Northern States. They are being deprived of full civil rights, and are forced to live in overcrowded houses, in restricted sections of the cities. They are helpless victims of racial prejudice and antagonism fanned by the bourgeoisie, they are subjected to lynch-law and mob rule, and do not get even the kind of "justice" which is being meted out to their white brother toilers.

The low standard of living of Negro workers is made use of by the capitalists to reduce the wages of the white workers. The misleaders of labor, the heads of the reformist and reactionary trade union organizations are refusing to organize Negro workers and thereby are helping the capitalist masters to drive a wedge between the white and colored proletarians. This anti-Negro attitude of the reactionary labor leaders helps to split the ranks of labor, allows the employers to carry out their policy of "divide and rule," frustrates the efforts of the working class to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalism, and dims the class-consciousness of the white workers as well as of the Negro workers driving the latter into the arms of the church and petty-bourgeois nationalistic societies, such as Garveyism and the like.

The Negro toilers as well as the white workers in the industrial countries must bear in mind that only united in the ranks of the general labor movement can they achieve their freedom. As to the Negro workers, their fight for emancipation from race oppression is clearly, in the main, a fight against capitalist exploitation. In this fight for emancipation attention should be paid to the Negro peasantry of the Southern States of USA. Agitation should be carried on among them against capitalism and racial oppression connecting this agitation with the economic demands of the Negro farmers.

In a somewhat different aspect is the position of the Negro toilers

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of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. In Africa the majority of the Negro population is still living a primitive tribal life. Here the imperialist invader, by expropriating the communal lands, by heavy taxation and by all kinds of oppressive legislation, is forcing the natives to supply cheap labor for the farms, mines and other industrial undertakings of the capitalists. This process of proletarianization, whilst breaking up the old tribal life, at the same time subjects the natives to a miserable existence under conditions which are hardly distinguished from plain slavery.

In order to safeguard the domination of the handful of white masters, the huge masses of the toilers in these colonial and semi-colonial countries are artificially divided into several social castes subject to different laws. We have in South Africa, for instance, the natives, the most degraded caste, then come the so-called colored races, and above them the "poor whites." The common class interests are being obscured by this color differentiation and instead of organizing a united front against their common class enemy, the workers are fighting each other, strenthening in such way the position of the capitalist class.

The struggle of the Negro workers for liberation is insolubly bound up with the wider struggle of the international proletariat, and the Negro workers must line up in the revolutionary class organizations the world over, by organizing their forces for joint struggle. In order to help the establishment of such a united front between the Negro toilers and their fellow workers, in order to liberate the Negro workers from the influence of reactionary nationalistic petty-bourgeois ideologies and draw them into the lines of the international revolutionary class movement, the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers of the RILU issues and asks the Negro workers to rally to the following Program of organization and action:

1. *Equal Pay for Equal Work*: Negro workers as a rule are working at lower wages than white workers. In South Africa the wages of native workers are from 4 to 5 times lower than the wages of European workers in most fields of work; in America the constant lowering of the wages of Negro workers, the employment of Negro workers only upon their acceptance of lower wages than the white workers, not only means the lowering of their own standards of living, but the standards of living of other workers as well; in the West Indies, in Cuba, on the sugar plantations, etc., Negro workers toil for a few cents per day. In order to raise the standards of living and subsistence of Negro workers it is necessary to struggle for equal pay for equal work, regardless of race, color or sex. At the same time the Negro workers, together with all other workers, must wage a common fight for higher wages, raising the general

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standard of living of all the workers.

2. *An Eight-Hour Day*: In most industries and at all kinds of work, the Negro workers toil from 10 to 12, and in some parts of the world even 16 hours per day. One of the main tasks of the Negro workers must be to obtain an 8-hour day and ultimately, together with the rest of the working class, a 7 and a 6-hour day.

3. *Forced Labor*: Close to the struggle for an 8-hour day is the question of Forced Labor. In many parts of the world Negro workers are forced to toil, in some cases, for no wages at all, "for community improvement." In the West Indies, at point of the bayonet of U. S. marines, native workers have been forced to build and upkeep roads. They have been driven from Haiti into Cuba to work on the sugar plantations; in South Africa forced labor takes the form of contract labor, natives being conscripted and recruited in Mozanbique (Portuguese East Africa) and transported long distances to work in the mines of South Africa; they must live in compounds and cattle pens. This system is legalized through the so-called "Mozambique Treaty," which exists between Portugal and the South African Government. In French Equatorial Africa the system of forced labor is so brutal that it resulted almost in the complete annihilation of the native population. In the U.S.A. forced labor does not exist in the same form, but in the southern part of the U.S.A. many agricultural workers work under a system of peonage; in some states of the South of the U.S.A. Negro convicts are forced to work in the coal mines and on plantations. It is against this system of camouflaged slavery that we have to wage an incessant fight. We must do away with the "Mozambique Treaty," with peonage, forced and convict labor, "Corvee Labor," contract labor or whatever other name this modern slavery is being disguised under.

4. *Labor Legislation (Insurance, Etc.)*: As one of the means of raising the living standard of the workers we must demand the adoption and enforcement of insurance laws that provide for the care, at the expense of the employers, of all workers in case of unemployment, accidents, sickness and also the paying of old age pensions and death benefits.

5. *Protection of Women and Youth*: The ITUCNW demands adequate protection for women and young workers, equal wages, equal benefits and proper working conditions. Vacations for expectant mothers before and after confinement, with full pay and leave periods during the working day after returning to work for nursing the babies.

6. *Freedom of Trade Unions*: We fight for the right to strike, for the right to organize in trade unions, for the right of free seech, wherever these rights do not exist.

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7. *Against Class Collaboration*: We must wage a militant fight against government coercion, compulsory arbitration, company unions; against all reformist class collaboration.

8. *Against Racial Barriers in Trade Unions*: The first requisite for a victorious struggle is a hundred percent organization of all Negro workers in trade unions. We must therefore conduct a relentless fight against racial bars in some of the existing white unions, the opening of the unions to all workers regardless of race and color.

9. *Special Unions of Negro Workers*: Where special bars are not removed, and where white unions refuse to admit Negro workers, special unions of Negro workers must be organized. Also, in white unions where Negroes are admitted but are treated as second-class members with unequal rights and privileges, special unions must be organized.

10. *Against White Terrorism*: We must carry on a resolute fight against terrorism in all its forms—against lynchings, police and soldier terrorism, against the assassination of trade union leaders and social workers, against their arrest and deportation.

11. *Housing and Social Conditions*: The housing and social conditions of Negro workers in the industrial centers are among the worst in the world. We must demand that adequate attention be paid to the protection of the health and well-being of the Negro workers and their families, and that better houses and social surroundings be provided for.

12. *Agricultural Workers*: Worst of all is the condition of Negro agricultural workers. Agricultural workers must be organized into trade unions which must fight for the special demands of agricultural workers including shorter hours, social legislation, protection for women and children of the workers, etc., etc.

13. *Against the Confiscation of Peasant and Communal Lands, Against Poll and Hut Taxes, Against Per Capita Tax, Etc.*: A special problem is the land question and particularly the agrarian policy of the South-African Government. The confiscation of the land of the natives and its reservation for white settlers in different parts of Africa, and confiscation in the West Indies tends to create a landless peasantry which is forced to seek work on the white farms and in the cities. The position is yet more aggravated by the policy of levying hut and poll taxes, making the competition for work more acute and the level of wages lower still, and bringing about a worsening of conditions in general. We must therefore fight against confiscation of native land and for the restitution of all land confiscated in the past to the native communities, as well as for the abolition of all special taxes and laws which result in the driving of the peasants from the land.

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14. *Universal Education*: To reduce the amount of illiteracy among the Negro workers and their families and to raise their cultural standards, free universal primary and secondary education for the children of the workers and special courses for adult workers must be provided for. At the same time we must demand the abolition of racial segregation in educational systems.

15. *Civil Rights*: A basic task for agitational and organizational activities necessary as the first step in our main struggle against imperialism, is to achieve the abolition of all racial discriminations, abolition of "Pass Laws," and all other laws and regulations abrogating the rights of the Negro workers, and to achieve universal suffrage, freedom of speech, freedom of workers' press. All "Color Bar" and caste systems existing in South Africa and the West Indies, which tend to split the ranks of the workers, must be abolished wherever they exist.

16. *Self-Determination of Negroes*: In South Africa, in the West Indies, and in the Southern part of the U.S.A., the trade unions of the Negro workers must become the central organs and transform the economic struggles of the Negro workers into political struggles, into a combined economic and political struggle for power and self-determination.

17. *Fighting the Influence of the Church and of Bourgeois and Petty-Bourgeois Ideas and Movements*: We must combat the influence of the church, of bourgeois and petty-bourgeoic ideologies and movements. The church, by offering to the Negro worker and peasant for the miseries they are enduring in this world, compensation in heaven, are befogging the minds of the Negro workers and peasants, making them a helpless prey to capitalism and imperialism. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and movements, such as Garveyism, etc., detract the Negro workers from their fight hand in hand with the international working class, for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism and imperialism.

18. *The War Danger*: The International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers directs the attention of the Negro workers of the world to preparations for the next world war, which are now being made by the imperialists, on the one hand against the Soviet Union—the fatherland of workers and oppressed peoples—at the same time, it goes without saying that the imperialists are in armament races for a war amongst themselves for a re-division of the colonial and semi-colonial spheres of influence. This not only means unheard of economic burdens upon the back of Negro workers, but also the terrible destruction of the lives of Negro soldiers recruited from among the workers and peasants. To understand what Negro workers must pay in the next war one only has to recall the last war with the consequent killing of hundreds of thousands of

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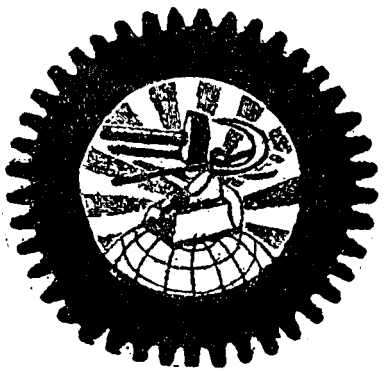
black troops who were fighting in the armies of the imperialists. The black troops had nothing to gain by fighting for the imperialists, and after the war was over, Negroes not only received most terrible oppression in the imperialist countries and colonies, but whole colonies of Negro people were placed in virtual enslavement. At the present moment the imperialists are training "black armies" for the next war, and are utilizing black troops to suppress the struggles of workers (in France), and against the Chinese workers in China (by Great Britain).

The Negro workers of the world must struggle against this menacing war danger; they must mobilize their forces against the imperialists using black troops against the workers.

We must rally to the support of our fellow workers!

We must defend the Soviet Union!

Issued by INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF NEGRO WORKERS OF R. I. L. U.



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C. I. Resolution on Negro Question in U. S.

1. The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working class population in the big cities of the East and North and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale, create the possibility for the Negro workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, to assume the hegemony of all Negro liberation movements, and to increase their importance and role in the revolutionary struggle of the American proletariat.

The Negro working class has reached a stage of development which enables it, if properly organized and well led, to fulfill successfully its double historical mission:

(a) To play a considerable role in the class struggle against American imperialism as an important part of the American working class; and

(b) To lead the movement of the oppressed masses of the Negro population.

2. The bulk of the Negro population (86 per cent) live in the southern states: of this number 74 per cent live in the rural districts and are dependent almost exclusively upon agriculture for a livelihood. Approximately one-half of these rural dwellers live in the so-called "Black Belt," in which area they constitute more than 50 per cent of the entire population. The great mass of the Negro agrarian population are subject to the most ruthless exploitation and persecution of a semi-slave character. In addition to the ordinary forms of capitalist exploitation, American imperialism utilizes every possible form of slave exploitation (peonage, share-cropping, landlord supervision of crops and marketing, etc.) for the purpose of extracting super-profits. On the basis of these slave remnants, there has grown up a super-structure of social and political inequality that expresses itself in lynching, segregation, Jim Crowism, etc.

NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

3. The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses, who are concentrated mainly in the so-called "Black Belt," provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes. The Negro agricultural laborers and the tenant

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farmers feel the pressure of white persecution and exploitation. Thus, the agrarian problem lies at the root of the Negro national movement. The great majority of Negroes in the rural districts of the South are not "reserves of capitalist reaction," but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat. Their objective position facilitates their transformation into a revolutionary force, which, under the leadership of the proletariat, will be able to participate in the joint struggle with all other workers against capitalist exploitation.

4. It is the duty of the Negro workers to organize through the mobilization of the broad masses of the Negro population the struggle of the agricultural laborers and tenant farmers against all forms of semi-feudal oppression. On the other hand, it is the duty of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. to mobilize and rally the broad masses of the white workers for active participation in this struggle. For that reason the Party must consider the beginning of systematic work in the south as one of its main tasks, having regard for the fact that the bringing together of the workers and toiling masses of all nationalities for a joint struggle against the land-owners and the bourgeoisie is one of the most important aims of the Communist International, as laid down in the resolutions on the national and colonial question of the Second and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern.

FOR COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF OPPRESSED NEGRO RACE

5. To accomplish this task, the Communist Party must come out as the champion of the right of the oppressed Negro race for full emancipation. While continuing and intensifying the struggle under the slogan of full social and political equality for the Negroes, which must remain the central slogan of our Party for work among the masses, the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states, where the Negroes form a majority of the population. The struggle for equal rights and the propaganda for the slogan of self-determination must be linked up with the economic demands of the Negro masses, especially those directed against the slave remnants and all forms of national and racial oppression. Special stress must be laid upon organizing active resistance against lynching, Jim Crowism, segregation and all other forms of oppression of the Negro population.

6. All work among the Negroes, as well as the struggle for the Negro cause among the whites, must be used, based upon the changes which have taken place in the relationship of classes among the

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Negro population. The existence of a Negro industrial proletariat of almost two million workers makes it imperative that the main emphasis should be placed on these new proletarian forces. The Negro workers must be organized under the leadership of the Communist Party, and thrown into joint struggle together with the white workers. The Party must learn to combine all demands of the Negroes with the economic and political struggle of the workers and the poor farmers.

AMERICAN NEGRO QUESTION PART OF WORLD PROBLEM

7. The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the Negro questions and struggles in other parts of the world. The Negro race everywhere is an oppressed race. Whether it is a minority (U. S. A., etc.), majority (South Africa) or inhabits a so-called independent state (Liberia, etc.), the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism. Thus, a common tie of interest is established for the revolutionary struggle of race and national liberation from imperialist domination of the Negroes in various parts of the world. A strong Negro revolutionary movement in the U. S. A. will be able to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism.

8. The proletarianization of the Negro masses makes the trade unions the principal form of mass organization. It is the primary task of the Party to play an active part and lead in the work of organizing the Negro workers and agricultural laborers in trade unions. Owing to the refusal of the majority of the white unions in the U. S. A., led by the reactionary leaders, to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for those Negro workers who are not allowed to join the white unions. At the same time, however, the struggles for the inclusion of Negro workers in the existing unions must be intensified and concentrated upon, special attention must be given to those unions in which the statutes and rules set up special limitations against the admission of Negro workers. The primary duty of the Communist Party in this connection is to wage a merciless struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which prevents the Negro workers from joining the white workers' unions. The organization of special trade unions for the Negro masses must be carried out as part and parcel of the struggle against the restrictions imposed upon the Negro workers and for their admission to the white workers' unions. The creation of separate Negro unions should in no way weaken the struggle in the old unions for the admission of

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Negroes on equal terms. Every effort must be made to see that all the new unions organized by the left wing and by the Communist Party should embrace the workers of all nationalities and of all races. The principle of one union for all workers in each industry, white and black, should cease to be a mere slogan of propaganda, and must become a slogan of action.

PARTY TRADE UNION WORK AMONG NEGROES

9. While organizing the Negroes into unions and conducting an aggressive struggle against the anti-Negro trade union policy of the A. F. of L., the Party must pay more attention than it has hitherto done to the work in the Negro workers' organizations, such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Chicago Asphalt Workers Union, and so on. The existence of two million Negro workers and the further industrialization of the Negroes demand a radical change in the work of the Party among the Negroes. The creation of working class organizations and the extension of our influence in the existing working class Negro organizations, are of much greater importance than the work in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Pan-African Congress, etc.

10. The American Negro Labor Congress continues to exist only nominally. Every effort should be made to strengthen this organization as a medium through which we can extend the work of the Party among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under our leadership. After careful preparatory work, which must be started at once, another convention of the American Negro Labor Congress should be held. A concrete plan must also be presented to the Congress for an intensified struggle for the economic, social, political and national demands of the Negro masses. The program of the American Negro Labor Congress must deal specially with the agrarian demands of the Negro farmers and tenants in the South.

11. The importance of trade union work imposes special tasks upon the Trade Union Unity League. The T. U. U. L. has completely neglected the work among the Negro workers, notwithstanding the fact that these workers are objectively in a position to play a very great part in carrying through the program of organizing the unorganized. The closest contact must be established between the T. U. U. L. and the Negro masses. The T. U. U. L. must become the champion in the struggle for the rights of the Negroes in the old unions, and in the organizing of new unions for both Negroes and whites, as well as separate Negro unions.

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WHITE CHAUVINISM EVIDENCED IN THE AMERICAN PARTY

The C. E. C. of the American Communist Party itself stated in its resolution of April 30, 1928, that "the Party as a whole has not sufficiently realized the significance of work among the Negroes." Such an attitude toward the Party work among the Negroes is, however, not satisfactory. The time is ripe to begin within the Party a courageous campaign of self-criticism concerning the work among the Negroes. Penetrating self-criticism is the necessary preliminary condition for directing the Negro work along new lines.

13. The Party must bear in mind that white chauvinism, which is the expression of the ideological influence of American imperialism among the workers, not only prevails among different strata of the white workers in the U. S. A., but is even reflected in various forms in the Party itself. White chauvinism has manifested itself even in open antagonism of some comrades to the Negro comrades. In some instances where Communists were called upon to champion and to lead in the most vigorous manner the fight against white chauvinism, they instead, yielded to it. In Gary, white members of the Workers Party protested against Negroes eating in the restaurant controlled by the Party. In Detroit, Party members, yielding to pressure, drove out Negro comrades from a social given in aid of the miners' strike.

While the Party has taken certain measures against these manifestations of white chauvinism, nevertheless those manifestations must be regarded as indications of race prejudice even in the ranks of the Party, which must be fought with the utmost energy.

14. An aggressive fight against all forms of white chauvinism must be accompanied by a widespread and thorough educational campaign in the spirit of internationalism within the Party, utilizing for this purpose to the fullest possible extent the Party schools, the Party press and the public platform, to stamp out all forms of antagonism, or even indifference among our white comrades toward the Negro work. This educational work should be conducted simultaneously with a campaign to draw the white workers and the poor farmers into the struggle for the support of the demands of the Negro workers.

TASKS OF PARTY IN RELATION TO NEGRO WORK

15. The Communist Party of the U. S. A., in its treatment of the Negro question must all the time bear in mind this twofold task:

(a) To fight for the full rights of the oppressed Negroes and

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for their right to self-determination and against all forms of chauvinism, especially among the workers of the oppressing nationality.

(b) The propaganda and the day-to-day practice of international class solidarity must be considered as one of the basic tasks of the American Communist Party. The fight—by propaganda and by deeds—should be directed first and foremost against the chauvinism of the workers of the oppressing nationality as well as against bourgeois segregation tendencies of the oppressed nationality. The propaganda of international class solidarity is the necessary prerequisite for the unity of the working class in the struggle.

"The center of gravity in educating the workers of the oppressing countries in the principles of internationalism must inevitably consist in the propaganda and defense by these workers of the right of segregation by the oppressed countries. We have the right and duty to treat every socialist of an oppressing nation, who does not conduct such propaganda, as an imperialist and as a scoundrel." (Lenin, selected articles on the national question.)

16. The Party must seriously take up the task of training a cadre of Negro comrades as leaders, bring them into the Party schools in the U. S. A. and abroad, and make every effort to draw Negro proletarians into active and leading work in the Party, not confining the activities of the Negro comrades exclusively to the work among Negroes. Simultaneously, white workers must specially be trained for work among the Negroes.

17. Efforts must be made to transform the "Negro Champion" into a weekly mass organ of the Negro proletariat and tenant farmers. Every encouragement and inducement must be given to the Negro comrades to utilize the Party press generally.

NEGRO WORK PART OF GENERAL WORK OF PARTY

18. The Party must link up the struggle on behalf of the Negroes with the general campaigns of the Party. The Negro problem must be part and parcel of all and every campaign conducted by the Party. In the election campaigns, trade union work, the campaigns for the organization of the unorganized, anti-imperialist work, labor party campaign, International Labor Defense, etc., the Central Executive Committee must work out plans designed to draw the Negroes into active participation in all these campaigns, and at the same time to bring the white workers into the struggle on behalf of the Negroes' demands. It must be borne in mind that the Negro masses will not be won for the revolutionary struggles

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until such time as the most conscious section of the white workers show, by action, that they are fighting with the Negroes against all racial discrimination and persecution. Every member of the Party must bear in mind that "the age-long oppression of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers, has given rise to a feeling of bitterness among the masses of the enslaved countries as well as a feeling of distrust toward the oppressing nations in general and toward the proletariat of those nations." (See resolution on Colonial and National Question of Second Congress.)

19. The Negro women in industry and on the farms constitute a powerful potential force in the struggle for Negro emancipation. By reason of being unorganized to an even greater extent than male Negro workers, they are the most exploited section. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy naturally exercises toward them a double hostility, by reason of both their color and sex. It therefore becomes an important task of the Party to bring the Negro women into the economic and political struggle.

20. Only by an active and strenuous fight on the part of the white workers against all forms of oppression directed against the Negroes, will the Party be able to draw into its ranks the most active and conscious Negro workers—men and women—and to increase its influence in those intermediary organizations which are necessary for the mobilization of the Negro masses in the struggle against segregation, lynching, Jim Crowism, etc.

21. In the present struggle in the mining industry, the Negro workers participate actively and in large numbers. The leading role the Party played in this struggle has helped greatly to increase its prestige. Nevertheless, the special efforts being made by the Party in the work among the Negro strikers cannot be considered as adequate. The Party did not send enough Negro organizers into the coal fields, and it did not sufficiently attempt, in the first stages of the fight, to develop the most able Negro strikers and to place them in leading positions. The Party must be especially criticized for its failure to put Negro workers on the Presidium of the Pittsburgh Miners' Conference, doing so only after such representation was demanded by the Negroes themselves.

22. In the work among the Negroes, special attention should be paid to the role played by the churches and preachers who are acting on behalf of American imperialism. The Party must conduct a continuous and carefully worked out campaign among the Negro masses, sharpened primarily against the preachers and the churchmen, who are the agents of the oppressors of the Negro race.

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PARTY WORK AMONG NEGRO PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY

23. The Party must apply united front tactics for specific demands to the existing Negro petty bourgeois organizations. The purpose of these united front tactics should be the mobilizing of the Negro masses under the leadership of the Party, and to expose the treacherous petty bourgeois leadership of those organizations.

24. The Negro Miners Relief Committee and the Harlem Tenants League are examples of joint organizations of action which may serve as a means of drawing the Negro masses into struggle. In every case the utmost effort must be made to combine the struggle of the Negro workers with the struggle of the white workers, and to draw the white workers' organizations into such joint campaigns.

25. In order to reach the bulk of the Negro masses, special attention should be paid to the work among the Negroes in the South. For that purpose, the Party should establish a district organization in the most suitable locality in the South. Whilst continuing trade union work among the Negro workers and the agricultural laborers, special organizations of tenant farmers must be set up. Special efforts must also be made to secure the support of the share croppers in the creation of such organizations. The Party must undertake the task of working out a definite program of immediate demands, directed against all slave remnants, which will serve as the rallying slogans for the formation of such peasant organizations.

Henceforth the Communist Party must consider the struggle on behalf of the Negro masses, the task of organizing the Negro workers and peasants and the drawing of these oppressed masses into the proletarian revolutionary struggle, as one of its major tasks, remembering, in the words of the Second Congress resolution, that "the victory over capitalism cannot be fully achieved and carried to its ultimate goal unless the proletariat and the toiling masses of all nations of the world rally of their own accord in a concordant and close union." (Political Secretariat, Communist International, Moscow, U. S. S. R., October 26, 1928.)

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The Theoretical Knights of Opportunism

(*Continued from December*, 1929, *issue*)

By D. BUKHARTSEV

(*Translated from the Russian by* GERTRUDE HAESSLER)

THE DECAY OF COMPETITION

THE cornerstone of the chimerical structure of state capitalist "organized economy" raised theoretically by some comrades, adopts the clearly opportunist theory that state capitalism signifies the diminishing of competition *within* the capitalist countries.

Some of the "theorists" try to show that the objective development of the present-day capitalist economy leads more and more to its organization *within* each country, at the same time that the anarchistic nature of capitalist economy is carried over to the basic line of international economic relations.*

This mysterious process is produced because, to a certain degree the problem of market, which the monopolistic organizations of capital fetters, disappears. Cartel prices become the dominant form of prices, and consequently "free" play on the market is replaced by planned calculation, regulated by the corresponding apparatus of trusts and concerns.

In short, in less than five minutes we have the socialist society, the peaceful inner existence of which is not disturbed by any competition or by any other contradiction.

The only thing which obscures just a little this tranquil existence of this capitalist Eden is the anxiety over organizational problems, over the "optimal" organization reaching to the borderline of private economy, over the choosing of psycho-technically suitable people, leading cadres, etc.

Of course there are some contradictions. The greatest of these is the bureaucratization of the economic structure.

Here we have that characterization of the economic relations of the present-day capitalist state which is presented now and then even

* N. Bukharin, The Theory of Organized Chaos, "Pravda," 7-30-29.

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in the pages of the Soviet press by solid "theoreticians" as a fresh scientific discovery. And in all this clearly opportunist "scientific" vermicelli, all "hallelujah" excorcisms over the uncovering of the class antagonisms, over their sharpening and their menace to the capitalist structure is lost, just as Ludwig's assurance that capital, with all its "organization," will suffer misfortune on the international market.

These "denunciatory phrases" hang in the air and by no means flow logically out of the context of the whole formulation.

Nor is the despondent reader comforted by the author with the theory that the diminishing of competition within the capitalist countries is compensated for by the sharpening of the contradictions on an international scale.

The fact that since the war, and especially in the "third period," the international capitalist antagonisms have grown and have been reproduced on a still wider basis—that is axiomatic. Only official Social-Democracy is trying to refute these facts by relegating them to some mythical "realistic" pacifism. And still, in their apologetic exaggeration of the significance of the monopolistic tendencies of capitalism, in their prophecies of "ultra-imperialism," they do not go so far as those Hercules stables of simple "undeviating" nonsense in their estimate of the organization of capital within each country, as do some theoretical Sanscho-Panzas of the opportunistic Don Quixotes.

Has the theoretical (if one may use this term) formulation of the right on the question of "organized capitalism," anything in common with Leninism? The right "theoreticians," and particularly this same Ludwig, gladly quote Lenin to the effect that "capitalism, in its imperialistic phase, arrives at the threshold of the complete socialization of production."* But they carefully omit the end of the same paragraph, where Lenin emphasized that "Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few. *The general framework of nominally free competition remains, and the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, burdensome, and intolerable.*" (Imperialism, p. 23.) (Emphasis mine, D. B.)

Thus Lenin knew very well that no matter what dimensions the process of monopolization attains, it is impossible to speak of the diminishing of competition, since the social means of production remain private property. And in this connection, Ilyitch continues

* N. Lenin, Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism, p. 22. (All quotations from "Imperialism" in this article are taken from the "Lenin Library" Edition, put out by the Communist Party of Great Britain, trans.)

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and develops the formulation of Engels, that "neither the transformation into stock companies, nor the transfer into government hands destroys the capitalist charter of productive forces." (Anti-Duehring; translated from the Russian.)

The growth of monopolies, including state capitalist monopolies, by no means signifies the painless process of reconciliation of all strata and groups of capitalism; on the contrary, "the old struggle between big and little capital is beginning on a new and infinitely higher plane." (Imperialism, p. 47).

Certain theoreticians, whose ideological constitutions are infected with opportunist bacilli, making them peculiarly susceptible to purely bourgeois economists on state capitalism, equalling and even surpassing them in this regard. When, for example, the bourgeois economist, Lepich, characterizes the present period as "organized competition"; when Eckert believes that the feverish competition of various enterprises is being replaced by regulated competition of "organized enterprises"; when Adolf Weber considers cartels as organizations "which transform the destructive and therefore inexpedient competition, into regulated competition"—then our zealous "theoreticians" somehow or other consider it necessary to be "more Catholic than the Pope himself," and characterize state imperialism as the diminishing of competition in general.

Crushed by the greatness of bourgeois professors of the type of Schmalenbach, Bente, Sombart and others, our native "theoreticians" regard their ideas much less critically than even the Social Democratic and bourgeois press.

At the time when the ideas of Schmalenbach met with sharp criticism in the pages of bourgeois papers, as, for example, "Die Frankfurt Zeitung," the Soviet "theoreticians" in the Soviet press solidarized themselves in essence with Schmalenbach in the basic question of the possibilities of "organized capitalism."

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" (June 5, 1928), criticizes Schmalenbach rather sharply for a respectable bourgeois paper.

"A regulated economy such as Schmalenbach foresees, is evidently *one of absolute internal monopoly* . . ."

"*Actual developments*, however, in reality do not justify Schmalenbach's prognosis in any way. Not in *America*. For there the anti-trust laws certainly are not ignored to the extent that Schmalenbach would have us believe: the "Gary Dinners," which the non-cartellized enterprises unofficially attend to fix prices, are surely not so frequent. On the whole America, although the argument of fixed costs certainly plays a great role, is still to a great extent in the grip of competition . . . And surely not in *Germany*. For even the amalgamation of great enterprises in separate branches of industry by no means signifies the elimination of competition . . .

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The great majority of branches of the "Fertigindustrie" are not at all adapted to unification into monopolies, not on a national scale and still less on an international scale. . .

"On the whole, in spite of everything, the force of the free market is today—and precisely today—very much stronger than the tendencies toward regulated economy, the significance of which cannot be estimated purely on the basis of coal and iron."

With much of what the "Frankfurter Zeitung" writes, being under the spell of illusion of the free market, one cannot, of course, agree. But certainly basically its criticism of Schmalenbach is instructive.

Our "theorists," blinded by this pathos of state capitalism, forget that "monopoly is capitalist monopoly, that is, monopoly which has grown out of capitalism, and exists in the general capitalist environment of commodity production of goods and competition, and remains in permanent and insoluble contradiction with this general environment." (Imperialism, p. 116).

Our wretched "theoreticians" do not understand the dialectics of capitalist monopoly, its contradictions as the direct opposite of free competition on the one hand, an on the other as the driving force reproducing these contradictions on a wider basis not only on an international scale, but also within each state.

"Monopoly, which has sprung from free competition, does not drive the latter out of existence, but co-exists over it and with it, thus giving rise to a number of very acute and very grave contradictions, antagonisms and conflicts." (Imperialism, p. 102).

The most absurd of these opportunists fables is the assertion that capitalist monopoly, even in its highest form—state capitalism—can create something in the nature of a planned regulated society, in which the problem of markets, prices and competition vanishes, and there remains some kind of capitalist "Gosplan" (State Planning Commission), a capitalist "orgraspred" (Distributive agencies) and a capitalist R. K. I. (Workers and Peasants Inspection), fighting bureaucracy.

Thus they again demonstrate their inability to understand the dialectics of the process of development of the monopoly tendencies of present-day capitalist economy. It is true that monopoly creates a sort of planfulness in the various groups of enterprises, in the separate branches of industry. But does it follow from this that monopoly can transform all public economy in each separate country into a united planned organism? "The statement that combines do away with crises is only a tale for the marines, used by bourgeois economists who set out to justify capitalism at all costs. On the contrary, when monopoly appears in *certain* branches of industry, it increases and intensifies the chaos proper to capitalist pro-

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duction *as a whole.* The disparity between the development of agriculture and that of industry, which is already a characteristic of capitalism, becomes increased." (Imperialism, p. 27).

Monopoly by no means eliminates the extremely stubborn fight between the cartel enterprises and the so-called "outlaws," not belonging to any particular concern or trust.

It is obvious that no matter how imperialism would "develop," no matter what dimensions the process of monopolization of capitalism would attain, it cannot change the *nature* of capitalism.

In his article devoted to the draft change of program, Lenin pointed out that "imperialism in reality does not and *cannot* reconstruct capitalism from the bottom up. Imperialism complicates and sharpens the contradictions of capitalism, makes a muddle of freedom of competition and monopoly, but cannot *do away* with exchange markets, competition, crises, etc." (Lenin Works, Old Russian Ed., Vol. XIV, Part I).

We are introducing abundant quotations from Lenin in order to show that there can be no two opinions on how Ilyitch regarded the problem of "organized capitalism." Our "theoreticians" occasionally attempt to introduce their views under cover of quotations from Lenin torn out of their context. In this question they succeed even less than in any other. The path to Lenin on the question of "organized capitalism" is closed to them, and nothing remains for them but to call upon the authority of Bente and Schmalenbach.

But this is by no means only a matter of the authority of Lenin. It is sufficient to descend merely for a moment with the theoretical empyreans to this sinful earth in order to become convinced that competition continues to exist in all capitalist countries, that the struggle within and between the separate monopolies continues. At the Eighth Congress of the Russian Party, in a polemic with Comrade Bukharin on the question of the Party program, Lenin pointed out that there is no such thing as monopoly capitalism without free competition in all branches of industry as a whole. This very point of view of Bukharin was characterized by Lenin as a "bookish exposition of finance capital."

The present apostles of "organized capitalism" excellently demonstrate this "bookish approach" to the most important problems of present-day capitalism. But the "books" to which they have recourse for their theoretical inspirations, are by no means those of Lenin, nor of Engels, but of Hilferding, Sombart, Schmalenbach and others.

However, if we turn from this "bookishness" to facts, we will see that along all lines in the internal markets, present-day capitalist society is unfolding the most stubborn contradictions. Let us take

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even that question so serious for cartels—the determination of prices. In spite of the power of the cartels and the role of capitalist monopoly on the internal market, they are powerless as far as determining prices is concerned. The competition between the various branches of industry within the countries, the buying capacity of the internal market, the general index of prices, the fixing of the expenses of production in that or some other cartel branch, the money market, etc.,—all these elements still play a significant role in the determination of prices by the free market. If we add to that the fluctuation of prices on the world market, which naturally affect the prices in the internal market, then the "bookishness" of the reasoning on the decay of competition and on the free determination of prices on a national scale becomes obvious.

Credit, which is usually much more subject to regulation, influences in turn the dynamics of economic development. Burgess, the specialist of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, recently gave a brilliant demonstration of the insignificant influence of credit on the dynamics of prices. (We retranslate from the Russian quoted in an article by Comrade Eventov), Burgess pointed out the following three factors limiting the extent of control which the policy of the Federal Reserve Banks can exercise on the basic economic tendencies:

"1. The influence of the reserve system is limited by the international movements of funds, the accumulation of capital, the spirit of speculation, the usage of money, etc. And in line with this it must be remembered that every activity of the reserve system calls forth counter-movements. A high percentage calls forth a stream of funds from all corners of the globe, a low one calls forth a reflux in gold and an expansion in credits, and consequently a higher discount rate.

"2. The Reserve Banks have to do with the money market as a whole, but not with the separate forms of credit. The change of percentage or the intervention exercise their influence on all discount rates. The Federal system cannot raise the percentage on speculative papers without raising the rate on commercial credit.

"3. The obligations of the Banks of Emission rising from the necessity of preserving the gold reserve."

This, in all its intricacy, shows the complete lack of foundation for asserting that the market determination of prices is being replaced by the organized calculation of cartels, logically flowing with this theory of "organized capitalism," regulating not only production, but also prices without taking the market into consideration.

Our "theoreticians" have in reality invented nothing new. A

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picture of such an "ideal" situation was already developed by Hilferding in his incorrect theory of the "universal cartels."

"Here all capitalist production," wrote Hilferding in his "Finance Capital," "would be consciously regulated from one center, which determines the degree of production in all its spheres. Then the determining of prices will become purely nominal and in reality equivalent to the distribution of all products among the cartel magnates on the one hand, and among the other members of society on the other. Prices appear then not the result of goods relations which are set up between people, but simply a sort of bookkeeping method for the transfer of things from one to the other."

Naturally under such conditions not only is no market necessary but the necessity of money also falls away. Comrade Bukharin, in his criticism of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of accumulation of capital cautioned against the mistakes of the Ricardo school and also that of Say, which falsely estimate the role of money.

"From such a premise," wrote N. I. Bukharin, "a series of the grossest errors can spring, the negation of the contradictions of capitalism, and the direct apology of the capitalist regime, an apology which seeks to 'scientifically throw of' (wegraesonnieren, as Marx expressed it) the crises of production, the impoverishment of the masses, etc."*

"To throw off" money, it necessarily follows that the category of commodities must also be "thrown off." And thus it becomes necessary also that the anarchistic distribution of productive power disappears, and consequently also the anarchistic distribution of labor power. "Depose" all the laws of capitalist economy, and general organization succeeds to the throne.

Such is the firm logic of the theoretical transgressions of the shephards of "organized capitalism."

IN THE THRALLS OF THE PANACEA OF ORGANIZATION

Intoxicated by the positive aspects of state capitalism, our "theoreticians" assiduously avoid its negative sides, particularly such a question as the decay of monopoly. The decay of monopoly, in their analysis of the process of present-day capitalist economy, leads to bureaucracy. They particularly relish the descriptions of bureaucracy given by the bourgeois economists; they present these descriptions to the Soviet readers apparently in such a way as to arouse considerations in the readers whether there is any difference between socialist bureaucracy and capitalist bureaucracy.

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* "Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital," GIZ, 1925, p. 11, (Russian Edition).

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It is incorrect, however, to place the problem of bureaucratic decay as the most important one for consideration, thus crowding out a problem so imminent for imperialism as the tendency toward economic decay. Our "theoreticians" endeavor to convince the readers that the basic problem of present-day capitalism is the problem of organization, the problem of the fight against bureaucracy, on the outcome of which, evidently, depends the fate of capitalist economy. That is nonsense. The most splendid organization cannot save capitalist economy from ultimate decay, from the inevitable process of economic and technical stagnation. This is understood excellently by the capitalists themselves, at least by the most intelligent ones.

Among the American professors there can be recently observed a strong current toward "planfulness." At the conference of the well-known Taylor Society, the liberal Professor Broome, gave a report on the "necessity of planned prosperity" (we quote from Modeste Rubinstein's book "The Contradictions of American Capitalism"). This eminent Professor of the University of Pennsylvania believes the only escape from the blind-alley of growing unemployment is the creation of a national planning commission. To this Professor Tugwell, Professor of Columbia University, who has been in the U.S.S.R., replied that then it is necessary to study a planned system not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Gosplan (State Planning Commission), where it is actually functioning. But even that does not help, since the competitive system cannot be reconciled with a planned system.

The chief economist of one of the greatest industrial bodies, "The National Industrial Conference Board," acutely remarked that (retranslated from the Russian) "American economy is more and more beginning to resemble a chronic nervous invalid, taking his temperature and pulse every hour, and his weight every week, chasing from one statistical psycho-analysis or economic wizard to another, expecting a fresh miracle or catastrophe every day. That is particularly bad at the present time, when we are approaching a period of exceptional obscurity and absence of faith in the economic future."

At a time when the bourgeois economists are becoming disillusioned in the panacea of organization, our "theoreticians" appear to have been enthralled by the ecstasies of organization.

But in fact all this is far from the way it appears to our "theoreticians."

"To find 'solid principles and a concrete objective', to 'harmonize' monopoly and free competition is obviously to seek for the

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solution of an insoluble problem. The confessions of the practical men impress us differently from the enthusiastic periods of the official apologists of "organized" capital, such as Schulze-Gaevernitz, Liefmann and similar theoreticians." (Imperialism, p. 49).

That whole structure of ideas, embracing the problem of "organized capitalism" is to a certain degree the restoration of the old incorrect point of view of Bukharin of the period of "left communism."

In "The Communist," the organ of the "left Communists," of May 16, 1918, there was an article by Comrade Bukharin, "Some Basic Conceptions of Present-Day Economy," aimed directly against Lenin and his conceptions of state capitalism.

In this article Comrade Bukharin writes:

"What is state capitalism? If one regards the matter from the productive-technical point of view, then we have state-regulated production, the elimination of anarchy of production, the elimination of the free market, 'account and control' on the part of the state organs.

"Here we find organization of production and a corresponding organization of distribution. Not only the conditions in general of the productive process, but also the details of technical arrangement carefully set up within the framework of a general organizational plan."

And further Comrade Bukharin writes:

"Finally, if we regard the matter from the point of view of relations between countries, then state capitalism signifies the sharpening of capitalist competition, the economic preparing for the coming predatory wars ("militarization of industry"), the tremendous increases in defense, military and navy, the growth of the war danger."

In this article, Comrade Bukharin devotes no small space to showing that state capitalism is the potential power of the bourgeoisie and that it is more a "slave-holding economic system than socialism." But the only difference Comrade Bukharin sees between the socialist system and state capitalism, is which class happens to be in power.

"State regulation," writes Comrade Bukharin here, "can asume two forms antagonistic to each other in their meaning and social significance—socialism and state capitalism, and the difference depends entirely on which class is in power."

No one would venture to dispute the tremendous significance of whether it is this class or another which is in power. But it is absolutely incorrect to suppose that in the anarchy of capitalist economy there is possible, even with "productive-technical regulation," anything like socialist economy.

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Marx, in one of his letters to Annenkov, wrote:

"In present-day economic life, you will find not only competition and monopoly, but also their synthesis, not as a formula, but as a movement. And yet this equation, far from removing the difficulties of the present situation, as the bourgeois economists suppose, creates as a result a still more difficult and still more complicated situation. Thus, in changing the basis on which present-day economic relations rest, in abolishing the present-day means of production, you will destroy not only competition, monopoly, and their contradictions, but also their unity, their synthesis, their movement, which balance competition and monopoly in practise." (translated from the Russian).

The incorrect conception of Comrade Bukharin, alluded to in his article in "The Communist," was continued and developed further in his book "The Economics of the Transitional Period."

In this book, as we know, Comrade Bukharin, analysing "present-day (1918-1919, D. B.) world capitalism," wrote that "commodity economy certainly does not disappear altogether, although within the countries it sometimes withers away, and sometimes considerably diminishes, replaced by *organized distribution* (emphasis mine, D. B.). The goods market becomes in effect only a world market, ceasing to be 'national'." (Nikolai Bukharin, "The Economics of the Transitional Period," Part I, The General Theory of the Transformation Process, Moscow, 1920, p. 14, Russian Edition).

In 1919 the term "organized capitalism" had not yet come into use. But there is no doubt that the term "organized distribution," not by any means relating specifically to the war period, to a certain extent was the forerunner of the theory of "organized capitalism," for it is obvious that in a capitalist society, the organized general distribution of products is senseless under anarchistic production of commodities.

Comrade Bukharin "foresaw" something or other then, and in part the decay of competition.

In his "Economics of the Transitional Period," Comrade Bukharin wrote: "The centralization of capital devours competition, but on the other hand, it incessantly reproduces this competition on a wider basis. It destroys the anarchy of the petty productive units, but it renders more acute therewith the anarchistic relationship between great productive bodies. "The friction" in the general economic system disappear in one place only to appear to a still greater degree in another; they are transformed into frictions between the basic parts of a tremendous world mechanism." (p. 16).

In the Lenin Institute a copy of "The Economics of the Transi-

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tional Period has been preserved which contained notes of Vladimir Ilyitch in the margins and at the end of the book. On page 10 of this book, where Bukharin writes that "finance capital has destroyed the anarchy of production within the countries of large-scale capitalism," Lenin underlined the word "destroyed," and writes opposite it "not destroyed."

Evidently not only does history repeat itself, but so also does "theory," transforming itself, it appears, into history, and the stamping of Bukharin at that time as a "left" communist, becomes at the present time the theoretical adornment of the gospel of the right opportunists.

(To be concluded)

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Against the Labor Party (Militant Reformism) in the U. S. A.

(*Continued from December*, 1929, *issue*)

By J. ZACK

AMERICAN REFORMISM

The reader may think that I am trying to "shoot a dead dog" with all these polemics against Pepper. His heritage of adventurist theories, however, still weigh heavy upon our Party. Only recently Comrade Weisbord wanted to shape our strike policy in the South on the basis of not offending the petty-bourgeoisie; hence we must not tire of polemics against Pepper's reformist theories.

Pepper's followers were led astray in the U. S. A. by the fact that reformism in the U. S. does not appear in European clothes. We have no mass social-democratic party, etc., etc., hence, according to them, the task of the Communists is to make the workers first become social-democrats, and then to fight for them, win them back again to the Communist point of view, etc. Of course, if development in the U. S. A. would be the same as in Europe at the time of the development of the social-democratic parties (free competition instead of monopoly capitalism) then the same or very similar process like in Britain would likely be repeated. As it is, very similar tendencies as in *modern* Europe manifest themselves in the U. S. A., particularly since the war, although they appear in somewhat different clothes. Pepper would want to fit the political content of European class relationships of thirty years ago to modern American monopoly capitalism; such things can only be done in Hans von Schaffhausen's stories, not in real life.

The different clothes in which American reformism manifests itself are closely interwoven with U. S. economic development. Before the war imperialism in the U. S. manifested itself in "domestic" form, that is, the Monroe doctrine. The "exceptional" development of the U. S. before the war was based on its domesticity, that is, a semi-continental nation having its natural resources developed by millions of skilled immigrants, providing what one may call a self-expanding market, which was inherent in the very development by this incoming millions of its rich resources. There was no surplus population in the European sense as same was continually absorbed by the Free Land. The class struggle under such circumstances expressed itself not in the desire to abolish the

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system, but in the struggle to improve the existing system and a better distribution (better from the point of view of each group) of the tremendous resources.

Under such circumstances the ruling group was always in a position to make concessions if hard enough pressed. The worker had as his ideal not the advancement of his interests as a class; he did not come to the working class after being appropriated by capital like in Europe, or was born a worker and condemned to remain one. No, in the U. S. the worker considered himself when in industry as being temporarily out of luck. *His being a worker was considered by him only as a transitory stage till he got into business for himself.* He had a petty-bourgeois ideal, hence he followed the petty-bourgeois movements politically. He was not against the capitalist system; on the contrary, he strove to emancipate himself by becoming a capitalist himself. Under such circumstances when he was engaged in class struggles which was mostly on the economic end he considered this as only a *transient* necessity, something he had to do in order to get a square deal out of the boss. The worker under such circumstances had no class struggle ideal. This accounts for the appearance and disappearance of the big movements and organizations amongst the American working class and the lack of enduring connection between socialist groups and the masses.

The most ideal conditions existed for the most vigorous development of capitalism. There was very often acute labor shortage, and it paid the bourgeoisie to allow the development of a wide labor aristocracy, concentrating its exploitation continually upon newly arriving foreign workers and the Negroes whom the leaders of the labor aristocracy in the interests of themselves systematically betrayed and disorganized.

Reformism, under such circumstances, manifested itself mainly in the pressure and counter-pressure of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois groups and the labor aristocracy within the old capitalist parties, and between the antagonistic capitalist groups dominating each of these parties, and reflected the contradictions of capitalist growth, sometimes assuming violent manifestations.

The bourgeoisie was obliged to make many economic and political concessions to the workers, which in reality could, however, be really enjoyed only by the labor aristocracy, but which created considerable illusion amongst the masses as a whole, thus the opposition of the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy supported by the masses of the most exploited manifested itself (particularly through the "progressive" movements and also the democratic party) in a type of reformism not interwoven with socialist class

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struggle ideals and therefore *crude and openly avowed, bluntly denying the class struggle.*

As soon as the petty-bourgeois ideal of the masses of workers of "going into business" became impracticable, that is the development of trusts made the going into business in the cities very difficult and the best land for farming was grabbed off, more militant types of mass movements began to manifest themselves. Many of the workers began to realize that they will *remain workers* the rest of their lives and instead of petty-bourgeois individualistic ideals of going into business, a feeling of solidarity manifested itself and the socialist movement began to assume a mass character. However, the mass of workers had yet to be disillusioned, they had as yet to be convinced by experience that their stay in industry is more than temporary. The old illusions still had powerful sway. Many of the foreign born workers particularly stuck to the petty-bourgeois ideal, aiming to save up their dollars and then go back home to Europe and there go into business.

Thus the "exceptional" type of American capitalist development, exceptionally favorable to the bourgeoisie, produced an "exceptional" type of reformism, a reformism in the image of the American bourgeoisie. The labor aristocracy organized into the American Federation of Labor, being within the confines of capitalist ideology became the driving force for labor reforms at the same time vehemently disclaiming any contamination with socialism, or class struggle ideals. Already before the world war, this exceptional domestic position of U. S. capitalism was coming to an end, but the war contracts for the allies staved off an economic crisis in 1915 and helped to conceal the significance of this turning point in the economic development of the U. S. A. from domesticity to dependence upon the international market. The entry of the U. S. into the war in 1917 extended the war boom. Monopolization during this period grew at a pace it would have taken perhaps several decades of ordinary growth. This also had its effect of enhancing the class solidarity of the workers, and destroying their petty-bourgeois ideal, instead of the petty-bourgeois scab motto of "me first and the devil take the hindmost." For the first time in the history of the U. S. A. solidarity to the extent that four million workers were on strike in the course of one year and this in the basic industries, steel, railways, mines, packing houses, etc., etc. On the other hand we had important sections of the petty-bourgeois being organized into fascist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, American Legion, etc. Laws being pressed against any form of militant unionism (anti-syndicalist laws), sentences of 10-25 years being handed out to militant agitators and union or-

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ganizers for ordinary activity. The Communist Party suppressed, etc. We had a semi-dictatorship regime, in which as far as the masses of workers were concerned their bourgeois rights as established by law did not exist.

Thus we see that the revolutionary situation in Europe had its basic repercussions in the U. S. A. It was not an immediate revolutionary situation as in Europe, but considering particularly the *general strikes of Seattle and Winnipeg* and the *armed march of the miners* in West Virginia in the background of the entire picture—*it was the most powerful revolutionary manifestation in the history of the American working class.* Basically this period marked, in spite of the "exceptional" position of American capitalism in Versailles, the end of American domesticity and hence of American "exceptionalism."

American capitalism emerged the strongest out of the world war, and hence was able to quickly stabilize itself. It had the necessary reserve strength to go over to rationalization on a huge scale and thus maintain its advantage and aggressiveness. This stabilization in turn helped to maintain the still powerful petty-bourgeois reformist illusions of the masses and prevented the development of a mass Communist Party in the U. S. A. These petty-bourgeois illusions had their powerful effect even on our Party, and Pepper theorized these illusions into a system. It is necessary to extricate the revolutionary reality of American development from the reformist fantasies of Pepper, in order that the Party can follow a consistent revolutionary line.

WHEN ONE CANNOT SEE THE FOREST BECAUSE OF THE TREES

Pepper and Lovestone see the advantage American capitalism has over the others because of its superior resources which, unlike that of other nations were not tied up or exhausted by the war, and, on the contrary, made even more mobile by huge capital accumulation. Hence their conception and theory of "exceptionalism" in theory and practice prescribed for our Party and practiced for six years. They are impressed by the high wage as compared with Europe, *and hence they class the American workers as a whole as the labor aristocracy within the proletariat of the world, and the labor aristocracy of the U. S. A. as the labor aristocracy within the labor aristocracy* and mind you for *six years* Pepper was trying (and with considerable success) to orientate our Party upon this very Labor aristocracy within the labor aristocracy upon the special theory that the skilled organized workers are more advanced than the masses of unorganized, semi-skilled and unskilled.

Comrade Varga once said that the reason the American bour-

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geoisie pays this high wage rate is because a fat horse can work harder than a lean one. Of course the high wage is also a result of struggle and is not a voluntary wisdom of the American bourgeoisie, but what Pepper fails to see, and maybe Varga too, is that this fat horse *has now to work even harder and is fed even less than before.*

Pepper does not believe that the wage rate in the U. S. A. is falling for the working class as a whole not only from the point of view of intensity of labor, but in the pay rate received per worker as such. Yet it is a fact. The decisive factor for us is not the fact that the American bourgeoisie has exceptional resources to fight its rivals in the world market, but *what do the workers get out of it,* and what effect has this upon them. Monopoly capitalism in the present stage as manifested in the U.S.A., not only strives to maintain high prices, but also to lower the wage rate relatively and absolutely. The American worker cares not a farthing that his wage rate is still higher than in Europe. He is affected by the fact that in comparison to what he got before, *he has to work harder and get less.*

Before the war the frequent scarcity of labor helped to maintain the high wage rate. Agriculture still absorbed the surplus on the labor market. There still was some chance to "go into business." Now all these "opportunities" for the workers are nonexistent. They are on the contrary now thrown out by the hundreds of thousands from industry and agriculture. There is between 3-4 million permanently unemployed. A lot the worker cares for the "exceptional" advantage of the American bourgeoisie to steal a march on the other capitalist powers on the question of rationalization (speed-up). What they do see is that their "exceptional" position is being quite rapidly liquidated, and the ones that feel this most acutely is not the organized labor aristocracy, but the 25 million unorganized semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Pepper and Lovestone see the advantage of the American bourgeoisie, but do not see that at the same time this very advantage now drives it out of its domesticity and to the sick capitalist world. They see American imperialism as an all-conquering knight immune to the decay of capitalist stabilization, but do not see and underestimates the prime factor, the revolutionizing effect, this "exceptional" imperialism produces upon the masses, workers, poor farmers and even sections of the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

One who out of habit has a social democratic turn of mind will say: Very well, please tell me how this Europeanization of the American working class manifests itself in actual life? He will say: the masses still follow the capitalist parties. There is no mass

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Communist Party, there is not even a mass social-democratic party of the labor party type, etc., etc.

It is true that the American workers are politically very backward. This backwardness arises out of the period of "domesticity" of American capitalism, out of the period of its "exceptional" development, and the illusions of the past hang on more or less because the U. S. as the real victor in the world war is as yet relatively speaking the most vigorous and active part of decadent capitalism. But basically the economic foundations upon which this political backwardness was based is changing and has already changed and hence this political backwardness is already breaking and is bound to break up.

This political backwardness is a great asset to the American bourgeoisie, it is like a good credit account bequeathed from the past, but one can already see the time of its presentation for payment by the working class and the bourgeoisie is preparing for that event, the day of payment is not fixed, so much the worse for the bourgeoisie provided we see our way clearly and prepare the working class for this test.

The question is where is it ordained that the American working class must pass through social-democratic reformism (even if it is the pre-war militant variety). Where is it written that the *skilled* workers in the U. S. must play or are going to play the revolutionary role of their kind in Europe 30 years ago? There is no concrete economic foundation to warrant such an assumption. Important sections of the skilled workers, particularly the most modern variety upon which the American Federation of Labor is orientating itself now (organizers of the detail of production and speed-up). They will play and are playing a reactionary role in post-war imperialism and particularly so in the third period. This is one of the big reasons why European social-democracy is being Americanized.

PARLIAMENTARISM VERSUS STRIKE STRUGGLES

ONE with a Social Democratic turn of mind is apt to even in the third period look upon votes in parliamentary elections as the chief criterion of the radicalization of the working class. This is one of the main reason why Pepper and Lovestone after the last presidential elections wrote articles of panicky pessimism as a proof per excellence of the lack of radicalization of the American workers, and in their "analysis of the elections" set a new high mark in their orientation to the right, trumpeting in all tunes their views about the great strength of the American bourgeoisie.

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Such points of view is particularly fatal in the U.S.A. as there are millions of workers, Negroes and foreign born (and even natives white and black disfranchised through residential qualifications mainly hitting the poorer classes) disfranchised and most of these are precisely the most exploited working in the basic industries. Furthermore, the corruption in American elections is such that a revolutionary party receiving the votes of hundreds of thousands, is more likely than in these times to be told that it only received a few thousand.

The political backwardness of the American workers plus these factors, produce the phenomena that even in prosperity years since the war we have 300,000 workers on strike yearly, while in stormy years the strike wave went up as high as 4 million and yet our Party and even the reformist socialist party (the latter draws also upon the petty-bourgeois elements) received only 50,000, and 200,000 votes respectively. There are certain pecularities about American bourgeois parliamentarism arising out of the economic development, that is the high trustification and concentration of all real power into the hands of big capital, which made parliament an easily corrupted talking shop, the decadence of American parliamentary institutions was strongly evident already long before the war and is now like in the rest of the capitalist countries particularly accentuated, the masses reacted to this in the sense that their reliance upon getting economic improvement is not upon parliament, but upon direct struggle with the capitalists. Their interest in elections was rather to prevent state interference, and to maintain their right to organize and strike and get whatever other minor advantages, which with the favorable economic development of American capitalism they thought they could get through *friends* in the old capitalist parties. The decadence and corruption of American parliamentarism accounts for the fact that amongst radical workers there always was a strong anti-parliamentary tendency. However, as long as capitalism was in a position to make concessions on the economic field these tendencies did not strongly affect the masses and particularly during presidential elections which created the illusion of getting a hold of the real powers, *the executive power*, there was and still is real mass interest.

* * *

The present stage is characterized, however, by direct interference of the State in strike struggles by the passing of anti-labor laws, by the further concentration of power in the executive machinery, and by the direct arbitrary exercise of might and its utilization even beyond the bourgeois laws against the workers. Hence there is the possibility of rousing the masses to working class poli-

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tical action. The lessons of this can of course be taught to the workers through agitation arising from participation in the elections. But in the real sense, due to the very character of present ossified parliamentarism, it can even more effectively be done thru street demonstrations and political strikes arising out of the economic conflicts. Parliamentarism of the competitive period of capitalism in the Social Democratic sense as embodied in the Labor Party theory, even with the best intentions has not the same revolutionary sense today, particularly in the U.S.A., unless it is connected as a mere subsidiary factor to the direct clashes against the State power arising out of the economic struggle leading to higher forms of struggle for the seizure of power by the proletariat. Strike struggles in the third period, where capitalist stabilization maintains the equilibrium of a tight rope dancer have, as the Tenth Plenum points out, a higher political significance than in all other preceding periods. Strike struggles are now a higher form of struggle and politically backward masses learn from these direct clashes with the state, which at present means also with the reformists and social fascists, more quickly and more thoroughly than from the new parliamentary marionette show, provided we know how to politicalize these strikes and thus help the masses to understand in a revolutionary sense the lessons derived therefrom.

It is assumed by the Labor party theoreticians Pepper-Lovestone, etc., that the American working class had no experience with reformism, that it must pass through this stage of reformism on its way to Communism like in Europe, a purely mechanical conception. To say that the American workers had no experience with reformism is of course, not correct. They had a good dose of petty-bourgeois reformism; they did not become Social Democrats as a result of it, because it was the American variety devoid of class struggle philosophy. Far from this being deplored it can be turned into an asset for us now, if we know how, because this type of reformism is quite crude and now returns directly into reaction while the class solidarity (due to the changed objective situation) is now for the American workers a practical economic necessity. One must indeed have a Social Democratic turn of mind, to now insist on fine distinctions between the difference of bourgeois reformism and the fine spun social-democratic variety at a time when the later variety is turning into social fascism and on the basis of that prescribe for the American workers as shortcut to Communism via the reformist path. This kind of theory also presupposes that the American workers learn nothing from international experience from the advent to imperialist practice of the Labor Party Social Democracy, and their so-called "left" critics, etc. Decadent cap-

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italism, decomposes the classic bourgeois parliamentary institutions and concentrates all power into the executive machinery. Anyone with but slight knowledge of the U. S. A. knows that this is going on at a fast tempo, and we can well make certain profitable comparisons with the experience of the Russian workers, who learned their political lesson through huge strike waves and street demonstrations against an autocratic regime. In the U. S. A. we can make a greater use of parliamentary elections, of course, than in Russia, but the peculiarity under conditions of monopoly capitalism like the U. S. is precisely that the bastilles of finance capital will be shaken through revolutionary repercussions, having their base in huge economic struggles and the thunder of this heavy artillery will find its echo in parliamentary elections. Any other conception of participation in parliamentarism leads inevitably to reformism when applied to a highly developed imperialist country like the U. S. A.

* * *

Class relationships as between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are expressed in their clearest form in the U. S. on the economic battlefront and not in parliament, and this will be much more so in the immediate future. *This is the acid test as to whether the workers need a reformist bridge or not.* When we look about we see that when it comes to this it is a question of sink or swim with the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The trade union bureaucracy and the "socialists" including their "lefts" Thomas, Muste and Co., would not even think of such a thing as organizing the masses of unorganized in the basic trustified industry because such a thing is a real revolutionary deed and in the third period it takes a Communist to do what to them seems like running one's head against a stone wall. No, these gentlemen, whether bourgeois reformists like the trade union bureaucrats or social-democratic reformists do not only not undertake such revolutionary tasks, they are in this case to be found on the capitalist side. The same as in Europe when there is a strike. Thus the masses learn who is for and who is against them, and this is the reason why our Party has been leading almost all the strikes of importance in the last 3 years, and where we were not, the strikers in their own fashion used many of our methods. And who will say that those masses who must go through the crucible of mass strikes under the monopoly of capitalism, which, as we already had occasion to see, means in the U. S. A. semi-civil war conditions, will fear to cast a piece of paper in the form of a vote for our candidates? And assuming the strikes are lost here and there, and the workers intimidated as individuals and therefore do not cast their votes for us. *Votes or no*

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votes, they will follow us again when the growth of proletarian solidarity makes a new advance possible. Those that count our influence by votes know very little indeed about the U. S. A. with its most numerous proletariat in the world, living in compact industrial centers and working in huge plants. When the situation is ripe, as has been shown by past experience, little effort mobilizes these unorganized masses by the hundreds of thousands, and for that task in spite of all our shortcomings we are better prepared than ever before.

In spite of appearances to the contrary the realities of the class struggle in the U. S. A. show basically the same tendencies, in some respects even in a higher form, (less social-democratic parliamentary illusions and more direct struggle) as in other capitalist countries.

The young unorganized American proletariat will learn the political meaning of the class struggle and the class character of the capitalist state chiefly through strike struggles, while in other capitalist states the exposure of the class character of the state was to a far greater extent the result of parliamentary activity and election campaigns. Only Communists will or can lead strikes at present without betraying the masses. Anyone that really realizes this and does not have his brains befogged by social-democratic conceptons and illusions will see the futility, the utopianism of the entire labor party theory, insofar as it is advocated as a reformist bridge, in a period of fierce class struggles.

THE CONCEPTION OF A NON-REFORMIST LABOR PARTY

But there are comrades who on the basis of the decision of the VI Congress for a *Labor Party from below* advocate a non-reformist labor party. Thus at the Cleveland left-wing trade union conference, August 1, which was under the leadership of our Party, a resolution was passed which, amongst other things, contains the following: "That the activities of this conference (organization of the unorganized, etc.) must help lay the basis for a broad mass Party, a labor party which, unlike the British Labor Party, will not be a tool of imperialism and will bring together all workers on a basis of united front from below."

It further states that this party must be against the left Social Democrats Muste, Thomas, and against the progressives, etc. The program must be: to fight for the 7-hour day, for social insurance and "*for the ending of capitalist exploitation.*" (My emphasis.)

Further on this resolution, after explaining that this Labor Party from below is to lead the workers to sharper class struggles under the guidance of a revolutionary proletarian party, presumably the Communist Party, the resolution ends up by saying this should be

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done in such a way "*that no reformist weakening of our struggle can result therefrom, nor any reformist elements sneak into its ranks*" (My emphasis).

This kind of conception is no accident, it is a product of experience that has taught us that in these fierce days all reformists whether they call themselves "left" or what not, in face of monopoly capital and its state, fight on the side of capital and betray the masses. These "gentlemen" are to be found in the capitalist vanguard against the Communists. They serve the purpose of quelling revolutionary upheavals, hence reformist labor parties of Pepper-Lovestone type. Such a situation, would, if it was possible to assemble them, quickly divide into Communists on one side, and waverers and traitors on the other. Under present circumstances such a party would not be an advance along the path of revolution, but a chain on the legs of the proletariat forged by the Communists themselves. This is a task for "left" social democrats, for traitors, not for us. On the other hand, the conception of a "pure" Labor Party—one *without reformists*, is a negation of the whole labor party theory in fact while still sticking to it in principle. This conception of a Labor Party can only be applied to a Communist Party, but the purpose it serves is to hide the identity of the Communist Party, to hide its revolutionary role, to becloak its independent leading role. Through it the Communists themselves create an ideological wall between themselves and their sympathizers, who instead of being drawn to the Party, hesitate between this proposal of a left labor party and the Communist Party. This conception is essentially a remnant of our labor aristocracy orientation. Many of the skilled workers follow us for our honesty and militancy in fighting for their demands, but prefer to come to us only under the camouflage of progressive committees, Labor Party, etc. We reflect their ideology when we hide our Party under the reformist cloak. The semi-skilled and unskilled will and are coming to us without any camouflage, and our own half-heartedness as expressed in this theory only serves to hamper this process and works into the hands of the left Social Democrats, impeding the development of a mass Communist Party.

The Labor Party advocates evidently do not understand the significance of the fact that in spite of our labor aristocracy orientation followed by us for the last six years, the Party's influence amongst the semi-skilled and unskilled is unmeasurably greater than amongst the skilled. If this was not so, how could we with such ease get a hold of sporadic strikes in most parts of the country during the last 3 years, *and did so as a Communist Party*. Of course, we cannot expect the mass of strikers to join the Com-

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munist Party, but now with our *new union* policy, the formation of an independent revolutionary trade union center, *we can organize far more effectively the masses of workers into these economic organzations* and politizise them directly through our influence in mass struggles. Hence the argument that through the Labor Party policy we have an approach to the masses at large can no longer be used as an apology for the Labor Party theory. There has been altogether too much of a tendency in our Party to retreat before the slander and ostracism of the bourgeois press against the Communists, so much so that our united front policy became *a policy of hiding the Party, of hiding Communists and Communism.* The Party cannot perform its role in the third period with such an ideology. Furthermore, those members who think that by calling a Communist Party a Labor Party like the Cleveland resolution in fact does, the hampering influence of bourgeois ostracism can be avoided are very much mistaken, for any organization that carries out a militant policy which in the present period means Communist policy, is immediately "ostracised" as Bolshevik, as Communist, as Reds, etc., and those that can thus be intimidated, religiously stay away from it, if they can help it. We had already enough experience in this respect.

* * *

But the greatest danger arising out of this half-way between the Communist Party theory, is that in spite of all good intentions, it provides in fact a half-hearted tendency in the struggle against opportunism as a whole. This is inevitable; for instance, how could the Party effectively struggle against social-reformism, which was running high during MacDonald's visit to the U. S. A. when, as the Cleveland resolution has it, we advocated *a good Labor Party against MacDonald's bad one.* Does not this remind one of the left Social Democrats Muste-Thomas slogans of the A. F. of L. policies being alright in the main, but misapplied and badly carried out by bad leaders. It is but natural that the Party with such conceptions could not and did not utilize MacDonald's visit for an effective campaign against social-reformism . This half-heartedness in policy in the third period inevitably leads those that stick to it to opportunism. One of the main reasons why our Party does not have a membership somewhere in proportion to its influence, is that up till recently it wavered between an orientation upon the skilled and unskilled, that is up to a year and a half ago it was in fact orientating upon the skilled. The Party itself has a social composition of manly skilled workers, one can easily imagine how from this petty-bourgeoisified swamp the Party got all kinds of opportunist diseases. Finally the Party orientated itself more and

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more clearly upon the left sections of the skilled going over to the semi-skilled and unskilled. The Cleveland labor party resolution expresses the half-hearted attitude of the left skilled stuffed with a Communist prayer.

Let the Party become predominantly the *Strike Party of the Unorganized* without any half-heartedness, and it will grow stronger and healthier in ideology, influence and numbers, and with this as a social base under the leadership of the Comintern, it will become the leader of all exploitd. Let its political line be concentration on politicizing the strike struggles of the masses carrying these exposures of the class character of the capitalist state into parliamentary election. *Anti-election tendencies* that may arise in this connection can be far more easily overcome than this opportunist parliamentary social-democratic tendency embodied in the labor party theory. The labor party theory, a product of the American "exceptionalism" theory of Pepper-Lovestone in any form has no revolutionary role to perform, any more than the Social Democrats right or left have in Europe or America, and must be completely liquidated as an obstacle to the Party's progress.

The Cleveland resolution is a distortion of the "Labor Party from below"—slogan of the VI Congress, Labor Party from *below* means more or less temporary united front election committees arising as a result of the struggle itself and led by the Communists and not the *top* formation of a national labor party organization as embodied in the Cleveland resolution.

* * *

There are those who state that a Labor Party is inevitable; therefore, why not anticipate it by forming one ourselves and thus paralysing its possibility to mislead the workers! Of course far be it from me to deny the possibility of the capitalists when confronted with a mass movement led by us, counterposing to it, farmer labor parties, labor parties, etc. Just as even now they use the A. F. of L. in an attempt to paralyse strike movements led by us. Undoubtedly, such parties will have their influence in confusing the workers, and will serve like in Europe, as a fig-leaf to reaction. The American bourgeoisie under strong pressure may accomodate itself to use in this respect European experience, but such parties whether we like it or not, will inevitably attract wavering elements, since it is inevitable that politically backward workers who go with us in strikes because of economic necessity, do not so readily shed their petty-bourgeois ideology acquired through decades. We cannot divert and confuse our Party in order to create a special church to save these backward souls, which when attracted by the success-

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ful and grandiose clamor, usually acompanying the formation of such a Party under such circumstances are more likely than not to leave us any way. Let us draw some lessons from our experiences with similar ventures with the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, etc., etc.

Nor will there be the situation for playing affiliation politics, for such a petty-bourgeois labor party will rise in the very teeth of the struggle against Communism, and it will do so at a time of sharper and higher forms of class differentiation than what was the case in 1923. On the other hand, the tempo of the world revolution and its effect upon the huge American proletariat may be such that we may have a fascist dictatorship in the U. S. A. without any preliminary fig-leaves in the form of labor parties. Just as the highest forms of class struggle are manifestly possible now, although we have no mass social-democratic parties, nor mass unions representative of the whole industrial system as in Europe. There is the danger of Shematicism in any theory that prescribes the same outward forms to the manifestation of class contradictions, arising from the peculiarities of American development. The sooner the Party comes forward in its independent leading role and discards the absurd and utopian theories of hide and seek, of reformist and non-reformist Labor Parties, the more effectively will it be able to overcome "fig-leaf" parties that may be formed and win over the majority of the working class. *Let us unfurl proudly amongst the masses the revolutionary banner of Communism.*

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Relation of Theory to Practice

By SAM DON

THE Materialistic—dialectic method—the key to the understanding of the laws of the universe and driving forces of human society, enabled Marx to create his revolutionary philosophy. The working class, being the revolutionary class, is, therefore, the only class capable of understanding Marxian philosophy. Marx expressed this relationship in the thought, "That as philosophy finds in the working class its material weapon, the working class finds in philosophy its idealogical weapon."

Marxian philosophy based upon the dialectic method means the closest unity between theory and practice. The revolutionary practical purpose of this theory was expressed by Marx in the idea "The philosophers only explained the world one way or the other, but the main problem is to change it." Marxian theory based upon the method of learning to know and understand reality, in its rise, development and changes, is the theory indispensable to the working class as a guide in their struggles.

Marx, the founder of the revolutionary theory of the working class could not but become the founder of the First International. The unity of Marx's theoretical and practical activities is seen already in his dealings with the strategy and tactics of the working class, which reflect the immediate problems and tasks of the working class linked up with the ultimate goal of the proletarian revolution. Lenin brilliantly describes the unity of Marxian theory and practical activities, in the following brief sentence: "The fundamental line of proletarian tactics was laid down by Marx in strict conformity with the general principles of his materialistic outlook." Lenin time and again emphasized the close unity between Marxian philosophy and proletarian revolutionary practice. For instance, "The Political line of the Party is inseparably linked up with the philosophy of Marx."

Lenin—the most consistent Marxist of the 20th century—embodied best the unity of Marxian theory and practice. Just as Marx, the founder of the revolutionary theory of the working class, was also the founder of the First International, so Lenin, the best Marxist of the 20th century, was the founder of the Bolshevik Party and of the Communist International. The "infallibility" of

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the C.I. and the Party in the Soviet Union is precisely based on the closest unity of Marxian theory with revolutionary practice.

Lenin, who lived in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, demanded the most complete unity between theory and practice. He said, "The basis for correct revolutionary practice and policies is the strategy and tactics based upon the concrete objective truth, which flow from the general fundamental laws of Marxian theory. Following the direction of Marxian theory, we shall draw nearer and nearer to the objective truth (without exhausting it), following another path we shall arrive at confusion and falsehood." We may therefore also say that Marxism based on generalized experiences (that is experience analyzed and lessons drawn from it), tested by life, is a guide to action.

Flowing from Marx's idea that the task is not merely to interpret history but to change it, Lenin said, "According to Marx, the direct task of science is to give a true slogan of struggle, that is to be in a position to say that this struggle is objectively a product of a definite system of production relationships, to make clear the *necessity* of the struggle, its content, its direction, its conditions of development." Here we see how with the help of theory the Party can see the inevitability of the struggles, understands its development, knowing its content and direction, deepens the struggles, gives it consciousness and leadership.

As we can see, Lenin, time and again, emphasized the necessity, importance and effectiveness of theoretical work. But in the words of Lenin this does not mean "that theoretical work should be given preference to practical activities, and it surely does not mean that practical work should be given up or postponed until the theoretical work is completed." Yes, theory is a guide to action, in fact, an indispensable guide, but above all, life, movement, experience, practice. And therefore, "Theoretical work only gives an answer on the problems raised by practice."

While both Marx and Lenin place the importance of practical revolutionary activities above theoretical activities, they at the same time with the utmost vigor, persistence and clarity pointed out continually the need of theory as a guide to action and as a weapon in changing and making history. We must remember that *practice without theory is limited, narrow, and without a perspective. Theory in a concentrated and quickened form contains the lessons of generalized experience.* Self criticism is one of the best methods in examining our experiences in the class struggle in light of theory and enriching and deepening our theory by revolutionary experiences and practice. Every mistake, every deviation, can easily be traced back to a "forgetting" or lack of knowledge of some of the basic

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principles of Marxian-Leninist theory. *Without theory one cannot learn successfully and quickly from experience.*

Therefore, the vanguard of the working class, the Party (always to link up the immediate struggles with its goal, to raise the struggles to ever higher levels), must be equipped with our revolutionary theory. In this sense we must grasp the full significance of Lenin's statement, "Only a Party guided by an advanced theory can act as a vanguard in the fight and that without a revolutionary theory there cannot be revolutionary practice."

Especially in this period of growing quick changes, widening revolutionary struggles, Marxian-Leninist theory is the surest compass and guide.

Theoretical work and study in our Party must not be confined to a small group of comrades, nor must it become the special field of activity of a "special selected group" of comrades. Hand in hand with the slogan "every Party member an active comrade" must go the understanding that every Party member must become equipped with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, as only then will the Party membership more readily grasp the policies of the Party (read and better understand Party resolutions and theses. . .) and increase its desire and consciousness for mass activities.

While not for one single moment must we forget (which happens quite often) the real glorious historical traditions of the American working class, and that in many respects the American working class was a pioneer in militant forms of struggles to the International working class (8 hour day movement, First of May, general strikes, nature of armed camp struggles, etc.), however, in *comparison* with the European working class, its traditions and struggles are backward. The lack of revolutionary experiences (and again speaking only in comparison with the European working class) must be made up by deepening the theoretical knowledge of the Party. At times it is simply horrifying and disgusting to hear leading and active Party comrades speak of the history of the American Labor Movement and *only* pointing out to its backwardness (which must not be forgotten), and "forgetting" entirely that in the U. S. in the past there was a class struggle with sharp militant, furious battles on the part of the working class. . . *The present driving forces of the Proletarian Revolution in the U. S. linked up with a maximum Leninist analysis of the History of the Class Struggle in the past, must be undertaken seriously by the Party, as this will help considerably to clear revolutionary perspectives to the entire membership.* To live and struggle in the leading imperialist country in the world—means to live and

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struggle in a country pregnant with crisis and revolutions.

The changed role of American capitalism and imperialism, which changed the role of our Party from one of the least important to one of the very most important sections of the C. I., places great historical revolutionary responsibilities on the shoulders of our Party. *The gap of backward traditions with the present day growing revolutionary responsibilities of our Party can be considerably closed by deepening the theoretical knowledge of our Party, a revolutionary understanding (and not petty bourgeois) of the history of the class struggle in the U. S., and constant learning from international experiences.*

The C. I. in its open letter to the Party convention states as the very first condition for the Party in becoming a Mass Party, "A correct perspective in the analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism, which is part of it."

There are still various shadows of the wrong theories of Lovestone of American imperialism creeping within the Party. And it is precisely these shadows which breed the right danger in the Party and are responsible for the lack of greater sensitiveness to the growing crisis of American capitalism, with the consequent lack of outlook for and lack of contact with the growing struggles of the working class. It is therefore no accident at all that the C. I. places a correct analysis of the general crisis of capitalism and American imperialism, which is part of it, as the very first condition in developing our Party into a Mass Party. The raising of the theoretical level of the Party functionaries and membership will undoubtedly create a better understanding of the role of American imperialism in the Third Period of wars and revolutions and make it more sensitive to the growing struggles.

The present Party situation demands the immediate drawing in of a very large number of young proletarian forces into various leading positions. The Party, in a way, is in a crisis because of lack of forces. The way to solve it is to draw in, and draw in courageously, new proletarian elements. And this must be done conscienciously, and not as in the past (factional days) as mere gestures, mechanically, without serious consideration. The situation is such that we must draw in elements who do not have a sufficient political background and training, nor sufficient organizational experience, for that matter. However, the Party must prepare and train its new forces and the proletarian Party comrades who are placed in responsible positions, taking their positions seriously, must make up their lack of sufficient political organizational experience, by increased political theoretical studies *and the Party must and undoubtedly will help them.* One of the means in preparing and

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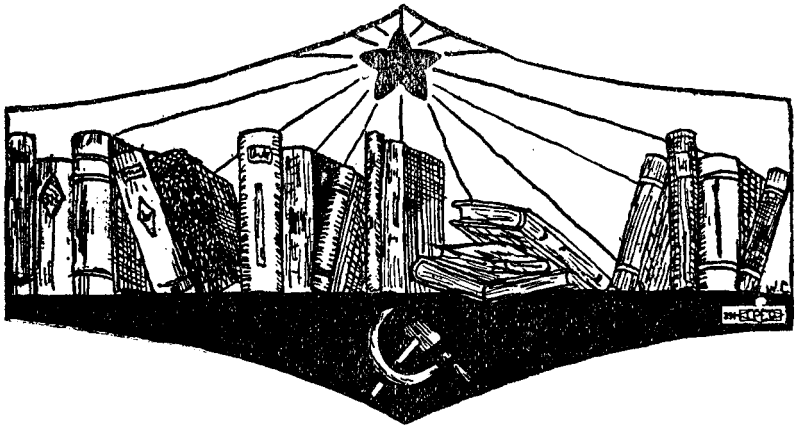
training new proletarian elements for leading positions in the Party, would be the establishment of a two or three months training school. (This does not mean that we must postpone drawing in new elements until the school is established. As a matter of fact many new elements, with self study and real political guidance on the part of the leading committees, will find the responsibilities given to them a very good training school, indeed). The League Training School held in Cleveland helped to a large extent in solving the functionary crisis in the League. The Party may profit by the League's experience and example.



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The Internal Situation in C. P. of U. S. A.

(Resolution adopted by American-Canadian Students in the Lenin School, Moscow)

THE discussion based on statements of the Central Committee in the Daily Worker, Comrade Clark's and Ballam's reports and other information shows that:

1. The first steps in the application of the C. I. Address freed the Party from the paralyzing grip of the opportunist petty bourgeois leadership of Lovestone-Pepper and cleared the way for the correct application of the line of the Sixth World Congress and the Tenth Plenum to the U. S. A.

The effectiveness of the application of the C. I. line was facilitated by the continuing favorable development of the objective situation (radicalization, growth of unemployment, etc.) resulting in the *isolation* of Lovestone to a small group of, in the main, petty bourgeois opportunist elements.

The expulsion of these most decayed opportunist elements growing out from the application of the C. I. Address, resulted in the liquidation of the chronic factional groupings, the beneficial results of which are already manifest in the greater activization of the Party as known by the relatively good showing made by the Party on August 1st (with the exception of three districts). The relatively good representation at the Cleveland Trade Union Conference and "the Right to Defense" slogan instead of "Frame-Up" slogan of Lovestone in connection with the Gastonia trial of textile strikers, and the considerable campaign carried on in connection therewith.

2. While recognizing the progress made and the correctness of concentrating at the beginning the entire blow against the Lovestone clique, and the necessity of counteracting the demagogic attempts of the Lovestone followers to fight the Party and the C. I. with left phrases, this should not have prevented the Party from broadening the struggle against the general opportunist line of Lovestone to struggle against opportunism in practice, and to adequately con-

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nect the general opportunist line of Lovestone-Pepper with its concrete manifestations in the long practices (past and present) of the Party, which was not done.

This error has tended to devitalize the enlightenment campaign and prevented it from developing from a series of confessions of the leaders into broad self-criticism not only from the top *but from the bottom*, so necessary in order to uproot the opportunist practices in mass work which is the most dangerous manifestation, and *particularly characteristic of American opportunists*. The enlightenment campaign has thus far failed to make the Party realize the fact that the C. I. Address demands not only a correction of the general opportunist line *but a sharp change also in practice*.

The right danger remains the main danger.

It manifests itself at present in opportunism in practice and particularly in a conciliatory attitude towards it. The incorrectness of Lovestone's general opportunist line has not as yet been fully understood, thus we find remnants of it in the draft program submitted to the Cleveland Trade Union Conference and published in *Labor Unity* of August 31. Amongst many other opportunist conceptions we find the following passages: "The era of competition in industry has gone forever," or further on, "American capitalism—rapidly wipes out all remnants of competition and becomes trustified *on every front*" (our emphasis). Objectively this program sees contradictions only in the international arena and overestimates the stabilization and consolidation of capitalism.

This wrong estimation and conclusion is due to a failure to understand the new forms that contradictions and competition take under monopolization. Although the thesis adopted by the Plenum of the Party do not contain such errors and give the Party a politically correct perspective, it is necessary on the basis of day to day events to conduct an enlightenment campaign about the decisions of the Tenth Plenum in order to fully overcome such erroneous conceptions.

The proceedings of the Cleveland Conference are characterized by a great volume of *abstract theorizing* (Draft Program articles, speeches, etc.) and an *altogether insufficient concentration on the practical work and concrete application* of the program. From this point of view also the leadership and preparation of the Conference was exceedingly weak. The self-activity of the rank and file delegates was insufficiently promoted and even much less utilized as reflected in the material published about the Conference. There was no real leadership given on the unemployed question, and on *methods* of organizing the unorganized. Insufficient leadership was also given to strike strategy.

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The rather loose preparations to the Conference and the proceedings at the Conference indicate that the Party in fact still grossly underestimates the radicalization of the workers which manifests itself primarily on the economic field now and the near future, and therefore the Party's *best effort* was not concentrated on the preparations and leadership of the Conference. This is also noticeable in the inadequacy and insufficient careful choice of personell assigned for the work in this field.

The Southern situation, although registering a great advance as compared with past efforts of the Party amongst the unorganized, was kept too much within the confines of a textile situation, whereas in fact, the anti-rationalization strikes there are the reflex of unrest amongst hundreds of thousands of workers in many industries throughout the country. We welcome the Southern T. U. U. L. Conference as a step in the correct direction, but even more important is the utilization of the southern situation for a *drive into the factories throughout the country*, to exend and revive our factory nuclei machinery, shop papers, etc.

The underestimation of the Southern situation is also manifest by the altogether *inadequate* attempts of the Party to get a hold of such historic strike struggles like the Marion and Elizabethton strikes in spite of glaring betrayals of the strikers by the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. The same applies to the New Orleans street car men strike.

It must be realized that our new trade union center will remain in the air and will not be firmly connected with the masses, as there can be no real application of the policy of organizing the unorganized if the entire force of the Party is not concentrated *on work from below*, that is, on building our nuclei and shop committees machinery right in the factories.

The struggle in the South gave the Party an excellent opportunity to make a great stride forward in the propagation of the C. I. line on the Negro question, based on self-determination. The implications of this line have apparently not been understood as yet by the Party as manifested by the absence of any efforts to get at the Negro peasantry. The social equality and other similar slogans have no revolutionary meaning unless they are viewed in the light of and accessory to the slogan of self-determination. The continued failure to struggle for the slogan of self-determination results in the opportunist tendency of counterposing the social equality slogan to it, and in there being no basic differentiation between our slogans and those of the Negro petty bourgeoisie. The position of the Negroes in the U. S. must be considered in the light of a national minority. Without constant and persistent struggle for the

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self-determination of the Negroes in the South, the slogan of social equality becomes an empty liberal phrase. The failure to understand the self-determination slogan resulted in the Negro question in the Southern strike situation being treated too much as a trade union question. While noting the disposition on the part of the Party to sharpen the struggle against white chauvinism there is manifest in the resistance to self-determination and in various incidents in South and North a certain lack of firmness indicating that white chauvinism is as yet a serious hampering influence in our struggle to win over the Negro masses. Without clarity on the slogan of self-determination there can be no effective struggle with chauvinism.

The power of the Southern bourgeoisie and landlords is based upon the division between the Negroes and the poor whites. Hence their fanatical attitude to maintain this division by all means, particularly now that through the growth of the industrial proletariat a more effective basis is created for the breaking down of this division. Therefore, the South, contrary from being a source of strength, is the weakest link in the chain of the American bourgeoisie, and, with proper handling can become in the near future the center of revolutionary struggles. The Party's handling of the Southern situation shows a lack of broad perspective, and hence an underestimation of the Southern situation.

3. Of utmost importance in the struggle against opportunism in theory and practice is the liquidation in all its forms of the theory of *militant reformism* (labor party) bequeathed to us in the crassest opportunist form by Pepper who grossly distorted the C. I. policy for a Labor Party in the direction of a petty bourgeois third party movement.

We have now in the form of the resolution submitted to the Cleveland Conference a *left Revision* of this theory into the theory of a perfect "Labor Party" "without reformists" which is to end capitalist exploitation, and carry on sharper and sharper struggles against capitalism, and which "unlike the British Labor Party" will not be an imperialist but a good revolutionary Labor Party. Only the Communist Party can carry out the tasks here inscribed to the Labor Party. It is obvious that this is not only a utopia but it is a continuation of the old line of hiding our Party under the pretense of united front tactics. In this case it would be a permanent substitution of the Communist Party by the Labor Party. This largely accounts for the negative attitude—instead of an enforcement—by the conference toward the Communist Party, on the one hand, and the feeble campaign against reformism as represented in the British Labor Party on the occasion of MacDonald's visit to the U. S. A.

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The Labor Party slogan in the Third Period has become the bridge and rallying slogan of the various shades of the social reformists from Lovestone to Muste, Thomas and to Shipstead. Its advocacy by us creates vacillation amongst the leftward moving workers, and diverts them in the direction of the reformist camp. It tends to create strong reformist illusions in our own Party, impeding its independent role and barring its development into a mass Communist Party. The continuation of the Labor Party policy feeds the various "exceptionalism" conceptions so long prevalent in our Party which have yet to be rooted out in theory and in practice. An effective struggle against socal reformism, both of the "left" and "right" presupposes the liquidation of the Labor Party theory.

4. The language sections and language press, particularly their auxiliary, cooperative, fraternal, etc. organizations are the centers where bureaucratic and social democratic practices still survive. The Party must learn to effectively direct and centralize the language work in such fashion *that its prime objective becomes participation and interlinking in the general mass work of the Party.* If the Party is to be Bolshevized, radical changes in the practices of our language sections are essential.

The struggle against bureaucratic remnants in practice and policy must also be carried on in our new trade unions, particularly in the Needle Trades.

A prerequisite for putting the entire apparatus in shape for the rapidly developing favorable situation is, however, the thorough overhauling of the Party apparatus itself, central, district, section committees, etc., to free it of elements that have grown pessimistic and stagnant, that have through the years of "prosperity" become impregnated with opportunist practices, factional psychology and bureaucratic methods, to refresh the leading cadres with new proletarian elements, and with those that have by Lovestone's factional regime been eliminated, and who, since the Party Convention, and particularly since the C. I. Address, have shown an honest desire to struggle against opportunism in all its manifestations. *The prime objective in all organizational measures must be to concentrate all forces on building the factory nucleus apparatus, shop papers, and shop committees; without that there can be no real application of the C. I. Address, no real orientation upon mass work, no improvement in the social composition of the Party, no real Bolshevization.*

5. The present tempo of making the Party organizationally fit to carry out the C. I. Address in practice, to root out its opportunist practices, is altogether too slow. The Party cannot afford to move at such a slow tempo in the present situation; a considerable acceleration of the tempo is necessary and possible now that the

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Party can unitedly struggle against opportunism. This can best be done by the promulgation of a broad campaign of self-criticism. Self-criticism must be established as the normal practice of the Party, as a method of constant self-correction, a method of testing the leading cadres and establishing revolutionary responsibility. The present superficial conception of self-criticism must be done away with and combatted. Self-criticism must be the method of struggle against opportunism and all its manifestations.

The actions taken at the recent Plenum show the progress made in the unification of the Party, and are a guarantee for the continuation of the struggle against the right danger in practice as well as in theory.

The drawing in of fresh elements into the Polburo and the Central Committee, as well as all other organizational measures taken, will raise the authority of the Central Committee and thus facilitate the reorientation of the Party towards the application of the C. I. Address in our mass work.

While the work and composition of the upper cadres can of course still be greatly improved, the main task is to create the necessary prerequisites in improving the cadres from the bottom. The method of self-criticism should be used to deepen the understanding by the membership of the C. I. line, and to promote fresh elements to leadership in districts, sections, language bureaus, etc. The holding of the Party Convention within the next six or nine months would greatly facilitate this process. The process of drawing in new elements into leadership from the workers, is, however, even under the present circumstances, insufficient, and should be accelerated. There should be a further purging of petty bourgeois and decayed elements from the leading cadres. The case of Weisbord is a warning to the entire Party that in this period of the sharpened class struggle the Party must be exceedingly careful to keep such elements out of our leading cadres, be it in the Party or in the unions. Although Weisbord's expulsion from the Central Committee is a healthy sign of holding our leading functionaries to revolutionary responsibility, which was not done in the past (Gitlow's treacherous speech at Philadelphia I. L. G. W. Convention, etc.) his removal from responsible work is insufficient, and the Party's prestige would have been more strengthened by Weisbord's public expulsion from the Party.

The opportunists from the Trotsky (Cannon) camp and from the Lovestone group now carry on jointly a "left" campaign against the Party, which gives the Party an opportunity to expose even more effectively the nature of these renegades, and at the same time to utilize same to combat similar views surviving in the Party. The

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Party has not made proper use of the opportunist counter-revolutionary agitation of this group to clarify the masses in and around the Party, and tended to confine itself too much to general denunciation or silence on the one hand, and insufficient self-criticism on the other. The vigorous development of the Soviet Union, simultaneously with the sharpening crisis in the capitalist countries, has so glaringly exposed the bankruptcy of this group and confirmed the position of the Comintern, that full advantage should be taken to liquidate the remnants of Trotskyism and Lovestoneism in and out of the Party.

We fully approve the expulsion of Judson and Fox from the I. L. S. and the V. K. P. (B) for their hypocritical use of left phrases against the Party leadership (the Party is not sufficiently fighting the right danger, etc.), while at the same time fighting against the expulsion of such "proletarian" elements like Gitlow and Miller (the first a paid functionary for the last fifteen years with a few months as clothing cutter as his only claim for being a proletarian—the second a shopkeeper for years). Fox and Judson show their true colors as Lovestoneites, demagogically using left phrases to cover right deeds.

We fully support the measures and actions of the Central Committee taken against the Lovestone followers, and declare our wholehearted support of the new Party leadership. We offer our cooperation through articles on the Tenth Plenum, and on various questions herein enumerated in order to deepen the Party's understanding of the C. I. line.

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Statement of American-Canadian Students in the Lenin School, Moscow

(Disassociating itself from Comrade Clark's attitude toward the Party as expressed in the November issue of COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL*)*

Comrade Clark, who takes a review of the American Party press as a pretext to write on the internal Party situation, develops an attitude which sees *only* the faults of the Party, not its positive achievements. Comrade Clark, outside of the phrase that "the party press has improved after the right wing renegades have been driven out," sees not only no other positive features, but exaggerates and distorts the actual errors of the Party far beyond reality. In the same paragraph relating to the improvement of the press, Clark disproves his own assertion by stating that the "*Daily Worker mirrors the influence of* American journalism"; carries on "a race for sensations," and by untruthful reports and hiding of mistakes *deceives the members and the working class.* The *Daily Worker*, which during the latter part of Lovestone's regime, was largely staffed by radical petty bourgeois journalists and who had a rather free reign, had some of the features Clark speaks about. As to the present, such kind of characterization of the *Daily Worker* is outright slander. The *Daily Worker* suffers in the main from faults different than what Comrade Clark here complains about, which we do not go into now. In criticizing the political quality of our press however, one must not do it by mechanical "ideal" comparisons with the *Rote Fahne*, *Pravda*, etc., which reflect either a working class on a much higher level of political development or a proletariat in power.

Clark not only sees no real difference as compared with Lovestone's regime in our press; he proceeds to put forward the draft program of the Cleveland T. U. U. L. Conference which contains the theory of organized capitalism as the main platform and perspective of the Party. He emphasizes that "the Party leadership did not by one word criticize this glaring error." He puts emphasis on the "enthusiastic adoption by the Conference of this program," and that this adoption by the conference gives "a firmer ideological base" to our work, quoting Stachel and Weinstone to that effect.

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Clark conveniently ignores innumerable articles which contained the correct line preceding the Conference and the thesis of our October C. E. C. Plenum which were here three weeks ago and thus comes to the false conclusion of "*absence of correct political perspectives.*" The fact that the Cleveland T. U. U. L. program is *not the main line* of the Party, but a mere relic of Lovestoneism, is plain to everyone that cares to honestly inform himself of Party events. After thus viewing the Party leadership as opportunists he proceeds to insidiously connect them with sympathies with the international right wing by saying "*very little space was given to the struggle against the right danger in the international arena.*" Anyone that has a little bit of sense of responsibility would have troubled himself to note that not only has our press published in full every single *Inprecorr* document on this question, but that every leading article and statement of the Party deals with this question in the spirit of the Tenth Plenum.

After thus convicting the new leadership of a right opportunist line, he proceeds to prove same by a gross exaggeration of errors in practice. In criticizing the Party's work in the South he only sees "*the slowness shown by the Party in the organization of the workers in the South.*" The fact that never in the history of the Party was an attempt on as broad a scale made by the Party amongst the unorganized, escapes Comrade Clark's attention completely. Considering the fact that in this whole area of thirty millions population, the Party had about three dozen Party members, the errors lie not so much in slowness as in the *narrowness* of the policies applied as pointed out in *our resolution* on the internal party situation. (Resolution adopted by the American-Canadian Group in the I. L. S.)

The same attitude Comrade Clark takes on the T. U. U. L. conference in Cleveland, which considering particularly the circumstances, that is, the crisis in the Party at the time, was the best, particularly from a point of view of representation of unorganized industries *and whose outstanding feature was the large Negro delegation* (67). Comrade Clark, however, notes its weak spots, particularly the absence of Negro delegates from the South only, in the same vein he emphasizes white chauvinism, not noting at all the fact that the Party is now for the first time treating this disease the same as it treats Lovestoneism.

Comrade Clark very well knows that the Party has *not a single member* in New Orleans like in many other big cities, yet he manages demagogically to accuse the *Daily Worker* of getting its information about strikes in such places from the bourgeois press and that it has no worker correspondents in these towns to lead the strike. Our criticism is that the Party has not shown enough skill

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and persistence in getting hold of these strikes after they broke out; it is clear that the Party couldn't initiate where it had no contacts and hence could not in this case know of the pending struggles. Comrade Clark's idea of self-criticism is that we should not "hide from the workers their own mistakes"; that is, if the workers follow us in a mistaken policy they, too, are to blame—a totally wrong conception as to relations between Party and masses.

The above are only a few quotations characteristic of this article; if the thesis of this article is correct then the C. I. is wrong, the results of the Party shake-up nil. The new leadership is no better, if not worse, than the old; the whole thing was due to intrigues, etc., etc., as Lovestone says. Our position is that, considering the bad social composition of the Party, its structure and habits, the but recent "prosperity" of American capitalism, the right danger remains the main danger, and cannot be changed in six months, but that the Party is seriously bending its energies and with good results to overcome Lovestoneism is clear. We point out the errors, but in a friendly and constructive, not hostile tone, in our resolutions. We must note particularly that Comrade Clark always defends his own mistakes and has no self-critical attitude which may account to some extent for his extreme tendencies in criticizing others. The type of criticism of Clark, having semi-official character, appearing as it does in the *Communist International,* being untrue and incorrect, can only dishearten and confuse our members and hamper the consolidation of the Party. Considering that Comrade Clark's position as in his report made six weeks ago to our Lander Group in which he considered the right danger practically liquidated, is entirely contrary to the line in his article. The American-Canadian Group, fully recognizing the necessity of constructive self-criticism in order to Bolshevize and build the Party, characterizes Comrade Clark's attitude as (1) distortion and exaggeration of actual errors and shortcomings of the Party; (2) as contining a reflection of an irresponsible, unprincipled attitude towards the problems of the Party; (3) a slanderous, incorrect attitude towards the present Party leadership.

All members present (14) voting for; Clark against.

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